

JYX



This is a self-archived version of an original article. This version may differ from the original in pagination and typographic details.

Author(s): Mustola, Marleena; Rutanen, Niina; Kiili, Johanna; Sevón, Eija; Juutinen, Jaana

Title: Overview of Childhood (Finland)

Year: 2022

Version: Accepted version (Final draft)

Copyright: © 2022 Bloomsbury Academic

Rights: In Copyright

Rights url: <http://rightsstatements.org/page/InC/1.0/?language=en>

Please cite the original version:

Mustola, M., Rutanen, N., Kiili, J., Sevón, E., & Juutinen, J. (2022). Overview of Childhood (Finland) . In M. Paananen, & W. Corsaro (Eds.), *Bloomsbury Education and Childhood Studies*. Bloomsbury Academic. *Bloomsbury Education and Childhood Studies*.
<https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350934399.032>

Overview of Childhood (Finland)

Mustola, M., Rutanen, N., Kiili, J., Sevón, E. & Juutinen, J.

Keywords

agency, relationality, materiality, ethnography, institutions, culture, ethics, multidisciplinary

Glossary

ECEC: ('Early Childhood Education and Care') In Finland, ECEC is a non-compulsory part of the Finnish education system and is based on an integrated approach to care, education, and teaching. ECEC is offered to children before they start compulsory school at the age of seven. All children receive compulsory pre-primary education at the age of six (4h/day).

1. Theoretical approaches to childhood and childhood studies

According to Strandell (2010), Finnish childhood studies and sociology have been influenced by a divide between actor- and structure-oriented approaches. This was especially the case in the 1980s and early 1990s. Since then, a more political understanding come into play and, more recently, fluid and mobile concepts, aimed at overcoming the action-structure divide, have begun to inform childhood research (Strandell 2010). Agency is and has been one of the core concepts in Finnish childhood studies, as in many other countries, and it was of especial interest in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Alanen 2020; Strandell 2010). However, other concepts, such as space, generation, belonging, and embodiment, have also been introduced.

Theoretically, different approaches are visible in Finnish childhood studies. A Foucault-inspired understanding of governmentality was applied by Siippainen (2018), who analyzed intergenerational relations in day care from the viewpoint of governance, and by Kuukka (2015) in relation to children's bodily lives. Harrikari et al. (2011) discuss the concepts of governmentality and the underlying rationalities in the context of institutional early childhood education, child welfare practices, public spaces, and participatory structures.

Relational approaches differing in their conceptual emphases have been widely applied. Intergenerational relations have been studied by applying Bourdieusian concepts (e.g., field, capital, habitus). This approach foregrounds the view that the social worlds of children (and adults) are gendered, classed, raced, and generationed, while the theory of fields bridges different

analytical levels and, for that reason, is also a promising theory in relation to childhood research (e.g., Alanen 2011, 2020; Kiili and Larkins 2018; Moilanen and Kiili 2019; Vuorisalo and Alanen 2015).

Kallio (2014) draws on the work of Raewyn Connell and connects relationality with the politics of childhood. She argues for the usefulness of geographical approaches and the concept of ‘spatial socialization’, in which children are understood as participants rather than recipients of socialization, including in relation to the politics of their everyday communities (see also Stenvall 2018). Juutinen (2018), adopting a relational perspective and the concept of ‘politics of belonging’ analyzed the processes of inclusion and exclusion in children’s daily lives in ECEC. Drawing on scholars such as Soja and Bourdieu, space and relationality have also been addressed by Vuorisalo, Rutanen, and Raittila (2015). In their view, space is socially produced in everyday interactions with the physical environment, personal interpretations of physical and cultural space, and cultural and collective views about space.

Childhood studies in Finland have also adopted ‘more-than-human’ approaches to childhood that foreground the entanglements of materiality, human life, and childhood (Alasuutari, Mustola, and Rutanen 2020). The new materialist and posthumanist scholars seek to overcome the dualist thinking of material vs. non-material or human vs. non-human (Mustola 2018; Rautio 2014). Hohti and Tammi (2019), for example, used de la Bellacasa’s theory of everyday caring relations in analyzing the relations between human children and other than human animals. Mustola (2018) applied Latour’s actor-network theory (ANT) in analyzing objects (physical, digital, as well as transformative and imagined) in the context of children’s play and art practices.

2. Methodology

In Finnish research, the methodology used in childhood studies is mainly qualitatively oriented. Since the emphasis is on children’s agency and voices, a qualitative approach including various participatory methods seems a natural choice. However, the quantitative data and information produced in broader research projects is typically more visible in the Finnish news media and more widely used as a foundation for political decision-making.

Quantitative surveys and barometer-type statistical information generally concern the life situations of children and youth or the Finnish service system as seen from the perspective of children. Barometers and surveys are conducted by, for instance, NGOs, the Office of the Ombudsman for Children, and the National Institute of Health and Welfare. Additionally, large research projects with diverse data sets (e.g., Kuukka, Siippainen, and Alasuutari, forthcoming), nowadays often also have sections in which children are informants and participants in the study instead of adults speaking for them.

One of the most prevalent qualitative approaches to the study of childhood in Finland is ethnographic. Some of the ethnographic studies conducted in educational settings have been methodologically more conventional (Paju 2017; Raittila and Vuorisalo 2021) while others, such as multispecies ethnography (Hohti and Tammi 2019) and autoethnography (Silova et al. 2018) more novel. The ethnographic gaze also enables study of the youngest children, infants and toddlers, to be incorporated into the domain of childhood studies (Rutanen 2012; Salonen, Sevón, and Laakso 2020; see also von Bonsdorff 2020).

As our digital culture becomes increasingly visual, arts-based and other visual methods are also becoming more common (Mustola et al. 2015). Besides giving children, including very young children, a possibility to participate without using complex spoken or written language, for example through taking photographs, arts-based methods can provide children with mediums in which they can safely give expression to experiences that are often hidden or unarticulated (Huuki 2019). A few efforts have also been made to utilize research methods that employ the new digital technology. It seems that these may be found interesting by children of various ages (e.g., Sevón et al. 2017).

Narrative methods enable understanding of how children create, share, perceive, make sense of, and evaluate events and stories (Puroila, Estola, and Syrjälä 2012). Moreover, the so-called child perspective methodology, which highlights the importance of listening to children's voices and stories, calls for being truthful to children's own accounts about their everyday lives and wellbeing (Karlsson 2013; Piipponen and Karlsson 2021). In this respect, the approach draws on the methodological principal idea of doing research with children and children as co-researchers.

Various ways of analyzing data sets, such as conversation, narrative, discourse, and interaction analyses, have been applied in the Finnish context. For instance, Heiskanen, Alasuutari, and Vehkakoski (2019) analyzed intertextual information from individual education plans in ECEC to better understand how the voices of children, parents, and specialists are present in these documents.

3. Diversity of research

Current research in the field of childhood studies in Finland draws on multi- and interdisciplinary theories. In addition to its theoretical roots in sociological approaches, much of this research has been informed by, in particular, developmental psychology, social studies, education, and early childhood education. Present research strategies, policies, and structural changes at the level of academic institutions (universities, polytechnics, research institutions) support both the crossing and merging of traditional disciplines and the use of multiple lenses in childhood research.

The outcomes of research in this broad field have many implications for the development of practice and exploring the participation, agency, and rights of children in childhood institutions

such as schools (Alanko 2013), ECEC settings (Lipponen, Rajala, and Hilppö 2018; Paananen and Rainio 2019; Pursi 2019) and social work institutions (Enroos et al. 2017; Forsberg and Ritala-Koskinen 2017; Helavirta 2011; Kallinen 2020). Today, the field also has links with cultural studies and the humanities via a focus on the arts, folklore, aesthetics, literature, and children's cultures (von Bonsdorff 2017; Rissanen 2020).

In recent years, the history of childhood has gained in visibility in the Finnish research context. As in studies addressing childhood today, children's agency and participation is also being studied from a historical perspective (Hoikkala 2020; Malinen and Tamminen 2017). Some emergent fields or topics that are likely to strengthen in the near future include more-than-human approaches to childhood (Rautio and Stenvall 2019), multispecies interactions (Hohti and Tammi 2019), sustainability (Pekkarinen and Tuukkanen 2020), children's rights (Pajulammi 2014; Tolonen, Koulu, and Hakalehto 2019), nationalism (Lappalainen 2006; Millei 2018), belonging and diversity (Kaukko and Wernersjö 2017), children's politics (Kallio and Häkli 2015), and the role of rapidly advancing technologies in children's lives (Mertala 2020; Valkonen, Kupiainen, and Dezuanni 2020).

The Finnish Society for Childhood Studies, founded in 2008, has been an important catalyst in the field, providing platforms for inter- and multidisciplinary dialogues across the different research fields. The members of the society represent a broad range both of approaches and of research institutions, which extend from universities and polytechnics to non-governmental organizations and freelance authors. This diversity in the positions and background institutions of the members of the Finnish Society for Childhood Studies are reflected in the production of knowledge that responds both to urgent needs for planning and policy making and to long-term theoretical and methodological development in the field of childhood studies and research on and with children.

Despite the differences in theoretical approaches within the Society, methodological and ethical discussions in relation to children as participants in research have been extensive and unifying. Two volumes on the ethics of research with children and youth have been coordinated and authored in collaboration with the Finnish Youth Research Network (e.g., Rutanen and Vehkalahti 2019).

Further reading and online resources

Alanen, L., Brooker, E., and Mayall, B. (2015) (eds.), *Childhood with Bourdieu*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Alanen, L. and Karila, K. (2009) (eds.) *Lapsuus, lapsuuden instituutiot ja lasten toiminta [Childhood, institutions of childhood, and children's agency]*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Alasuutari, M., Mustola, M., and Rutanen, N. (2020) (eds.), *Exploring Materiality in Childhood. Body, Relations and Space*, London: Routledge.

Mustola, M., Mykkänen, J., Böök, M.-L., and Kärjä, A.-V. (2015) (eds.), *Visuaaliset menetelmät lapsuuden- ja nuorisotutkimuksessa [Visual methods in childhood studies and youth research]*, Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusverkosto.

Rutanen, N. and Vehkalahti, K. (eds.) (2019), *Tutkimuseettisestä sääntelystä elettyyn kohtaamiseen. Lasten ja nuorten tutkimuksen etiikka II [From regulating research ethics to lived encounters. Research ethics in studies involving children and young people II]*, Helsinki: Finnish Youth Research Society/Finnish Youth Research Network. Julkaisuja/Publications 218.

The Finnish Society of Childhood Studies: Twitter-account. <https://twitter.com/childhoodfi>

The Finnish Society of Childhood Studies: webpage.
<https://lapsuudentutkimuksenseura.yhdistysavain.fi/in-english/>

References

Alanko, A. (2013), *Osallisuusryhmä demokratiakasvatuksen tilana : tapaustutkimus lasten ja nuorten osallisuusryhmien toiminnasta Oulussa [Participation group as a space for democratic education – a case study on the activities of children’s and young people’s local participation groups in Oulu]*, Oulu: University of Oulu Graduate School, Acta Universitatis Ouluensis E 140.

Alanen, L. (2011), ‘Moving towards a relational sociology of childhood’, in Braches-Chyrek, R., Röhner, C., Schaarschuch, A. and Sünker, H. (eds.), *Kindheiten. Gesellschaften - Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zur Kindheitsforschung*, Opladen: Barbara Budrich Verlag, 21–44.

Alanen, L. (2020), ‘Generational order: troubles with a “travelling concept”’, *Children’s Geographies*, 18(2): 141–143, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2019.1630715>.

Alasuutari, M., Mustola, M., and Rutanen, N. (eds.) (2020), *Exploring materiality in childhood. Body, relations and space*, London: Routledge.

von Bonsdorff, P. (2017), ‘Transformations of the everyday. The social aesthetics of childhood’, in Schinkel, S. and Herrmann, I. (eds.), *Ästhetiken in Kindheit und Jugend. Sozialisation im Spannungsfeld von Kreativität, Konsum und Distinktion*, Edition Kulturwissenschaft 100, Transcript-Verlag, 319–344.

von Bonsdorff, P. (2020), ‘On Equal Terms? On implementing Infants’ Cultural Rights’, in Eriksen Ødegaard, E., and Spord Borgen, J. (eds.), *Childhood cultures in transformation. 30 years of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in action towards sustainability*, Brill, 37–53.

Enroos, R., Heino, T., Helavirta, S., Laakso, R., and Pösö, T. (2017), ‘Vuosi huostassa. Lastensuojelun aikatietoista tarkastelua’, *Janus: Sosiaalipolitiikan ja sosiaalityön tutkimuksen Aikakauslehti*, 25(4): 297–311.

Forsberg, H. and Ritala-Koskinen A. (2017), 'The multi-local residency of children seen through case descriptions of Finnish child welfare social workers', *European Journal of Social Work*, 20(2): 242–252, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2016.1185699>.

Harrikari, T., Satka, M., Alanen, L., and Pekkarinen, E. (eds) (2011), *Lapset, nuoret ja muuttuva hallinta*, Tampere: Vastapaino.

Helavirta S. (2011), 'Home, children and moral standpoints: A case study of child clients of child welfare', *Qualitative Social Work*, 10(4): 434–50, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325011400481>.

Heiskanen, N., Alasuutari, M., and Vehkakoski, T. (2019), 'Intertextual voices of children, parents, and specialists in individual education plans', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 65(1): 36–53, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00313831.2019.1650825>.

Hohti, R. and Tammi, T. (2019), 'The greenhouse effect: Multispecies childhood and non-innocent relations of care', *Childhood*, 26(2): 169–185, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568219826263>.

Hoikkala, S. (2020), *Historiallinen tapaustutkimus lastensuojelulaitoksen rajoittamis- ja kurinpitokäytännöistä 1950–2000 [Historical case study of restriction and disciplinary practices in child protection institutions]*, Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto.

Huuki, T. (2019), 'Collaging the virtual: Exploring gender materialisations in the artwork of pre-teen children', *Childhood*, 26(4): 430–447, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568219862321>.

Juutinen, J. (2018), *'Inside or Outside? Small Stories about the Politics of Belonging in Preschools'*, Oulu: University of Oulu Graduate School, Acta Universitatis Ouluensis E 179, <http://jultika.oulu.fi/Record/isbn978-952-62-1881-6>.

Kallinen, K. P. (2020), 'Family relationships of children in kinship foster care', *Nordic Social Work Research*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2156857X.2020.1734064>.

Kallio, K. P. (2014), 'Rethinking spatial socialisation as a dynamic and relational process of political becoming', *Global Studies of Childhood*, 4(3): 210–23, <https://doi.org/10.2304/gsch.2014.4.3.210>.

Kallio, K. P. and Häkli, J. (2015), 'Children and young people's politics in everyday life', in Kallio, K. P. and Häkli, J. (eds.), *The beginning of politics*, London and New York: Routledge, 1–16.

Kaukko, M. and Wernesjö, U. (2017), 'Belonging and participation in liminality: Unaccompanied children in Finland and Sweden', *Childhood*, 24(2): 7–20, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568216649104>.

Karlsson, L. (2013), 'Storycrafting method - to share, participate, tell and listen in practice and research', *The European Journal of Social & Behavioural Sciences*, 6(3): 1109–1117. <https://doi.org/10.15405/ejsbs.88>.

Kiili, J. & Larkins, C. (2018), 'Invited to labour or participate: Perspectives on intra- and intergenerational dynamics in a Children's Parliament case study', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 39(3): 408–421.

Kuukka, A., Siippainen, A., and Alasuutari, M. (forthcoming), 'Lasten näkemyksiä arjestaan ja arjessa rakentuvasta hyvinvoinnista' ['Children's views of their everyday life and well-being'], in Eerola, P., Repo, K., Alasuutari, M., Karila, K., and Lammi-Taskula, J. (eds.) *Varhaiskasvatuksen ja lastenhoidon moninaiset polut*.

Kuukka, A. (2015), *Lapset, ruumiillisuus ja päiväkodin järjestys. Tutkimus ruumiillisuuden tuottamisesta ja merkityksellistymisestä lasten päiväkotiarjessa [Children, bodilyness and the day care order. A study on the production of embodiment, and its significance to children in the context of a day-care centre]*, Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research 536, Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Lappalainen, S. (2006), 'Liberal multiculturalism and national pedagogy in a Finnish preschool context: Inclusion or nation-making?', *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 14(1): 99–112, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681360500487777>.

Lipponen, L., Rajala, A., and Hilppö, J. (2019), 'Compassion and emotional worlds in early childhood education', in Pascal, C. A., Bertram, T., and Veisson, M. (eds.), *Early childhood education and change in diverse cultural contexts*, Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 168–178.

Malinen, A. and Tamminen, T. (2017), *Jälleenrakentajien lapset. Sotienjälkeinen Suomi lapsen silmin [The children of the reconstructors. Post-war Finland in the eyes of the child]*, Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Mertala, P. (2020), 'Young children's perceptions of ubiquitous computing and the Internet of Things', *British Journal of Educational Technology*, 51(1): 84–102, <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjet.12821>.

Millei, Z. (2018), 'Pedagogy of nation: A concept and method to research nationalism in young children's institutional lives', *Childhood*, 26(1): 83–97, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568218810078>.

Moilanen, J. and Kiili, J. (2020), 'Suojeluvalvonnasta tukihenkilötoimintaan: lasten ja aikuisten muuttuvat suhteet lastensuojelussa', in Moilanen, J., Annola, J., and Satka, M. (eds.), *Sosiaalityön käänneet*, SoPhi, 144, Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 221–254.

Mustola, M. (2018), 'Children's Play and Art Practices with Agentic Objects' in Schulte, C. & Thompson, C. M. (eds.) *Communities of practice: Art, play, and aesthetics in early childhood*, 117–131, London: Springer.

Mustola, M., Mykkänen, J., Böök, M.-L., and Kärjä, A.-V. (2015) (eds.), *Visuaaliset menetelmät lapsuuden- ja nuorisotutkimuksessa [Visual methods in childhood studies and youth research]*, Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusverkosto.

Paananen, M. and Rainio, A. P. (2019), 'Micro-policies of adult-child joint play in the context of the Finnish ECEC system', in Alcock, S., and Stobbs, N. (eds). *Rethinking play as pedagogy*. Routledge, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429454042-15>.

Paju, E. (2017), 'Plugging in through clothing: How children's clothes influence perception and affective practices in day care', *Sociological Review*, 66(3): 527–541, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026117703906>.

Pajulammi, H. (2014), *Lapsi, oikeus ja osallisuus [The child, rights and participation]*, Helsinki: Talentum.

Pekkarinen, E. and Tuukkanen, T. (eds.) (2020), *Maapallon tulevaisuus ja lapsen oikeudet [The future of the globe and the children's rights]*, Lapsiasiavaltuutetun toimiston julkaisuja 2020:4 [Office of the Ombudsman for Children in Finland 2020:4].

Piipponen, O. and Karlsson, L. (2021), "'Our stories were pretty weird too" - Children as creators of a shared narrative culture in an intercultural story and drawing exchange', *International Journal of Educational Research*, 106, [101720], <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijer.2020.101720>.

Puroila, A.-M., Estola, E., and Syrjälä, L. (2012), 'Does Santa exist? Children's everyday narratives as dynamic meeting places in a day care centre context', *Early Child Development and Care*, 182(2): 191–206, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03004430.2010.549942>.

Pursi, A. (2019), 'Play in adult-child interaction: Institutional multi-party interaction and pedagogical practice in a toddler classroom', *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction*, 21: 136–150, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lcsi.2019.02.014>.

Raittila, R. and Vuorisalo, M. (2021), 'Relational analysis and the ethnographic approach: constructing preschool childhood', *Ethnography and Education*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457823.2021.1872396>.

Rautio, P. (2014), 'Mingling and imitating in producing spaces for knowing and being: Insights from a Finnish study of child-matter intra-action', *Childhood*, 21(4): 4614–74. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568213496653>.

Rautio, P. and Stenvall, E. (eds.) (2019), *Social, material and political constructs of arctic childhoods: An everyday life perspective*. Singapore: Springer.

Rissanen, M.-J. (2020), 'Entangled photographers: Agents and actants in preschoolers' photography talk', *International Journal of Education Through Art*, 16(2): 271–286, https://doi.org/10.1386/eta_00031_1.

Rutanen, N. (2012), 'Socio-spatial practices in a Finnish daycare group for 1 to 3-year-olds', *Early Years: An International Journal of Research and Development*, 32(2): 201–214, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09575146.2011.632364>.

Rutanen, N. and Vehkalahti, K. (2019) (eds.), *Tutkimuseettisestä sääntelystä elettyyn kohtaamiseen. Lasten ja nuorten tutkimuksen etiikka II [From Regulating Research Ethics to Lived Encounters. Research Ethics in Studies Involving Children and Young People II]*, Helsinki: Finnish Youth Research Society/Finnish Youth Research Network, Julkaisuja/Publications 218.

Salonen, E., Sevón, E., and Laakso, M.-L. (2020), 'Evening early childhood education and care reformulating the institutional culture', *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 18(4): 418–432, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1476718X20947120>.

Sevón, E., Rönkä, A., Räikkönen E., and Laitinen, N. (2017), 'Daily rhythms of young children in the 24/7 economy: A comparison of children in day care and day and night care', *Childhood*, 24(4): 453–469, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568217704048>.

Siippainen, A. (2018), *Sukupolvisuhteet, hallinta ja subjektifikaatio: Etnografinen tutkimus lasten ja aikuisten suhteista vuorohoitopäiväkodissa [Intergenerational relations, governing and subjectification. Ethnographic study on child-adult relations in daycare with extended opening hours]*, Jyväskylä dissertations 4, Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Silova, I., Piattoeva, N., and Millei, Z. (2018) (eds.), *Childhood and schooling in (post)socialist societies. Memories of everyday life*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stenvall, E. (2018), *Yhteiskunnallinen osallisuus ja toimijuus: Lasten osallistuminen, kansalaisuus ja poliittisuus arjen käytäntöinä [Societal participation and agency : Children's participation, citizenship and politics as everyday practices]*, Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 2407, Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Strandell, H. (2010), 'From structure—action to politics of childhood: Sociological childhood research in Finland', *Current Sociology*, 58(2):1651–85. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392109354240>.

Tolonen, H., Koulu, S., and Hakalehto, S. (2019), 'Best interests of the child in Finnish legislation and doctrine: What has changed and what remains the same', in Haugli, T., Nylund, A., Sigurdson, R., and Bendiksen, L. R. I. (eds.), *Children's constitutional rights in the Nordic countries*, Stockholm Studies in Child Law and Children's Rights, Volume: 5, Belgium: Brill Nijhoff, 159–184.

Valkonen, S., Kupiainen, R., and Dezuanni, M. (2020), 'Constructing social participation around digital making: A Case study of multiliteracy learning in a Finnish day care centre', *Journal of Early Childhood Education Research*, 9(2): 477–497.

Vuorisalo M. and Alanen L. (2015), 'Early childhood education as a social field: everyday struggles and practices of dominance', in Alanen, L., Brooker, E., and Mayall, B. (eds.),

Childhood with Bourdieu. Studies in childhood and youth. London: Palgrave Macmillan, https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137384744_5.

Vuorisalo, M., Rutanen, N., & Raittila, R. (2015), 'Constructing relational space in early childhood education', *Early years: an International Journal of Research and Development*, 35(1): 67–79, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09575146.2014.985289>.