The Experimental House and the Manor House Bökars: Architecture and Interior Design as a Reflection of the Marimekko Lifestyle in the 1960s

Master's Thesis

Student: Emma Järvenpää, s1639641

Supervisor: Prof.dr. Timo de Rijk

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The images in the cover page:
Above: Anonymous, the manor house Bökars, 1960s, Gäddrag, Finland. Courtesy of Tony Vaccaro. Source: Aav 2003.
Below: Anonymous, Armi Ratia and the Experimental House, 1967, Gäddrag, Finland. Source: Nikula 2003.

Introduction

'I really don't sell clothes, I sell a way of living.'

- Armi Ratia, year unknown[1]

Since 1951 the Finnish textile and clothing design company Marimekko has brought colour in our lives with its bold and vivid prints, first in the streets of Helsinki, nowadays around the world (fig. 1-2). Its most iconic print *Unikko* (1964) – meaning 'poppy' – has literally been everywhere, decorating not only home textiles, umbrellas or pencil pouches, but also cars, metros, hot air balloons and even airplanes (fig. 3-5). It can almost be argued that in Marimekko's homeland, Finland, is no Finn that would not know the company or could not name at least one of its products by name. As the Finnish art historian Marianne Aav has described: 'It [Marimekko] is considered as Finnish as rye bread or the sauna.'[2] So strongly is Marimekko present in their everyday lives, in a way or another.

The numerous studies conducted on the company prove that Marimekko has held the fascination of journalists and scholars since its very beginning. During its 65 years of existence the company has been analysed from the business perspective to the questions concerning gender.[3] However, only a few seem to recall Marimekko's venture into the world of architecture. In 1963 the company launched a utopian project known as 'Marikylä' (henceforth Mari Village) with the aim to create a residential community for the Marimekko employees. The driving force behind this project would especially have been the co-founder of Marimekko, Armi Ratia, the visionary of the company.[4] In 1966 a first taste of living in the Marimekko style was given in the form of the Experimental House, built in collaboration with the Finnish architect Aarno Ruusuvuori (fig. 6). When the project was halted in the late 1960s, the building remained as the only physical memory of Marimekko's plans for the village. Despite the fact that the Mari Village project was widely reported by both national and international press in the 1960s, little is known about it nowadays. Marimekko's own PR gives scarcely information about the project, and shares no images of the building.[5] The Finnish publications about

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[1] McCabe 2013, p. 35.

[2] Aav 2003, p. 20.

[3] See for example the book *Marimekon yrityskultuuri designed by Armi Ratia* (Marimekko's Business Culture Designed by Armi Ratia), written by Marimekko's former communications manager Anneli Karsi in 1995 (only in Finnish), and Rebekah Rousi's master's thesis *Marimekko: Gender and Nation Through Text and Image – an International Perspective,* Jyväskylä 2007.

[4] In all literary sources used for this paper the Mari Village is referred as an initiative of Armi Ratia. It seems that Marimekko's second founder, Viljo Ratia, and some Marimekko employees would have had a supporting role in this project.

[5] On Marimekko's official website, both in Finnish and English, the Mari Village is described with a few words. See: https://www.marimekko.com/eu_en/the-brand/marimekko-story and https://www.marimekko.com/fi_fi/meista/marimekon-tarina (last visited on 07 May 2016). In 2012 Marimekko planned to revive Mari Village for the World Design Capital Helsinki event, but even then the original village was shortly described, without going further in any details. For the English version of the press release, see https://globenewswire.com/news-release/2012/01/13/244700/0/en/MARIMEKKO-BRINGS-MARIMEKKO-

Marimekko's history generally mention the topic shortly; the article by Antti Ainamo is one of the few written texts in which the Mari Village is discussed in depth.[6] Internationally the project has received some attention through an extensive article written by the Finnish art historian Riitta Nikula in 2003.[7] Yet even here Mari Village forms only a part of the text, and it has been published more than a decade ago.

With this thesis I attempt to shed more light on Marimekko's venture on interior design and architecture in the 1960s. The information presented in this paper is based on the research conducted on the literature written about Marimekko, and on the contemporary publications, documents and documentaries found in the Finnish libraries and in the archives of the Design Museum and the Museum of Finnish Architecture in Helsinki. In addition to the written sources, knowledge has been gathered through email interviews sent to, among others, Ristomatti Ratia, the son of Viljo and Armi Ratia, and Tuula Saarikoski, a former Marimekko employee and a close friend of Armi. The primal focus of the paper is the Experimental House as a part of Marimekko's endeavour to create a life encompassing 'Marimekko lifestyle', thus no attention is paid on the company's shop interiors or any other interior projects which are discussed in Nikula's article. In this thesis the topic will be approached, firstly, by reflecting Mari Village's Experimental House against the debates about the living culture in Finland in order to get a total picture of the contemporary atmosphere in which this building was shaped; and secondly, by comparing the Experimental House with another house that is closely associated with the company, namely, the manor house Bökars (fig. 7). In 1964 this house became an official residence of Marimekko which later was better known as a legendary house of feasts, visited by guests from Finland and abroad. It was this house, even though not meant for a continuous but in occasional usage, which can be argued to have embodied the Marimekko lifestyle, the Marimekko way of leading life, which Armi believably wanted to achieve with the Mari Village.

Interesting about these two buildings is that they seemingly originate from two different worlds; one of the rural romanticism and another of the modern, urban environment. Despite their obvious duality, both Bökars and the Experimental House were both presented to the press as components of the 'Marimekko environment'. This strange, and intriguing, contrast between the two 'Mary buildings' resulted in the following main research question:

VILLAGE-FOR-THE-HELSINKI-WORLD-DESIGN-CAPITAL-YEAR-2012.html (last visited on 13 March 2016). The Mari Village of the 2012 was not realized in a physical form, but virtually and through different events spread in Helsinki.

[6] Antti Ainamo, 'Marikylä, moderni utopia' (The Mari Village – A Modern Utopia) published in *Arkinen kumous. Suomalaisen 1960-luvun toinen kuva* in 2003 (only in Finnish).

[7] Riitta Nikula, 'The Marimekko Vision of Architecture and Interior Spaces', in: Aav, M. (ed.), *Marimekko. Fabrics, Fashion, Architecture,* New Haven (CT) and London 2003.

How did the interior design and architecture of the rural manor house Bökars and modern prefabricated Experiment House represent Marimekko's vision of an ideal lifestyle in the 1960s, despite their seemingly contrasting looks?

In addition, this thesis aims to answer the following sub-questions:

- How was the living culture debated in Finland and its surrounding countries from the late nineteenth century until the 1960s?
- Why did Marimekko broaden its scope from the fashion- and fabric design to architecture and interior design? When did this development happen?
- What was the 'Marimekko lifestyle' in the 1960s and how was it represented by Marimekko, Armi Ratia, the press and other publications in Finland and abroad during this period?
- How did the idea of the Mari Village and its prototype Experimental House fit in the Marimekko's lifestyle ideology during the 1960s? How did the manor house Bökars reflect the ideology of Marimekko lifestyle during the same period? Are there any similarities or differences between these two?

The first chapter will chronologically describe the development of interior design and the definition of 'home' debated and created by intellectuals, architects, designers and other individuals involved with cultural section, and how these ideas developed in Finland and its neighbouring countries from the late nineteenth century till the 1960s. This chapter will form an important background for the later chapters since many elements of these earlier discussions are visible in the manor house Bökars and the Experimental House. **The second chapter** is about the history of Marimekko and one of its establishers, Armi Ratia. A close up to her life will help us to understand which elements constructed Marimekko as a form of living. **The third chapter** will zoom into the beginnings of Marimekko's venture into the world of interior design and architecture after which the two 'Mary buildings' – the Experimental House and the manor house Bökars – will be described more in detail. **The fourth chapter** focuses on the question 'what is Marimekko lifestyle', how can it be defined and how did it manifest itself in these two buildings mentioned above. After all chapters the conclusion is drawn, resulted from the study and analysis on the gathered research material.

I. The Home: An Introduction to the Debates about the Living Culture and the Practice of Interior Design in Finland and Its Surrounding Countries from the Late Nineteenth Century Until the 1960s

1.1. The Rise of the Concept of Home and the Practice of Interior Design

Since the second half of the nineteenth century people's idea of home was changing in Finland. The first steps towards this change were taken in England, where the Industrial Revolution had generated a new economic and social structure starting from the mid-eighteenth century.[8] As a consequence of the industrialization and urbanization of the cities, the work transferred to factories, shops and offices, creating a new meaning for home as a solid place for family life. Alongside these developments a new social group emerged, the middle class. For the first time bourgeoisie were able to imitate their social superiors, the upper classes, by purchasing mass produced wallpapers, textiles and carpets which flooded to the market.[9]

With the new emphasis on the home environment, the aesthetic standard of the interior soon became a topic of discussion in England. The middle class who desired to express comfort and health, sought inspiration from the historical styles of the past. Their interiors became filled with heavy, dark furniture and mass produced household goods which threatened to replace the long flourished tradition of handcrafts. Slowly some intellectuals began to see industrialism as a threat; the art critic and thinker John Ruskin (1819-1900), for example, criticised the mass production of furniture as a cause of ugliness of homes. Inspired by Ruskin, the socialist activist and designer William Morris (1834-1896) declared interior design and the production of furniture and furnishing as a valid enterprise for architect and fine artist. His ideology is embodied in his home *Red House* (1859-60), located in the town of Bexleyheath, England, which was built and decorated by Morris and his artist colleagues and friends (fig. 8). The result was a unique house with a matching interior to exterior, making the house in other words, a *Gesamtkunstwerk,* a total work of art.[10] Morris' ideas were a major influence for the Arts and Crafts Movement, which emerged in the 1860s in England with the aim to design houses and their interiors with honest workmanship.[11]

The influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement spread gradually to other parts of Europe. In West and Central Europe the movement contributed to the creation of Art Nouveau, a style in which

[8] O'Brien 2010, p. 21. According to O'Brien historians generally agree that England 'became the first national economy to complete transition to an industrial economy', though some critics see that the Netherlands should be recognized as 'the First Modern Economy'.
[9] Massey 1990, p. 7.
[10] Ibidem, pp. 10, 12-14.
[11] Triggs 2014, p. 7 and Massey 1990, p. 16. According to Triggs the movement can be perceived to have begun with the building of William Morris' Red House, but already before this building process the first Arts and Crafts theories had been published by Ruskin and Morris.

the architects and designers were driven to create an all-encompassing aesthetics with modern technological equipment and materials.[12] In the North European countries the Arts and Crafts ideology was spread particularly by the Swedish intellectual Ellen Key (1849-1926) who emphasized in her essay *Skönhet i hemmen* (Beauty in the Home), initially published in 1897, the importance of the beauty in all realms of life, including the domestic setting.[13] As an example of an ideal home Key referred to the dwelling of the Swedish painter Carl Larsson (1853-1919) who published a series of watercolour paintings of his own home in the publication *Ett hem* (A Home) in 1899. Larsson's home, which was characterized by light rooms filled with colourful, simple and rustic furniture and decorated with textiles inspired by traditional craft, represented a radical break of the dark and heavy nineteenth century interiors (fig. 9-10).

The developments of Sweden were closely followed in Finland. The ideas of Ellen Key were brought to the country by the Finnish writer Edward Elenius (1881-1957) with his book *Kodin sisustaminen* (The Furnishing of the Home) in 1910.[14] Homes had however been a topic of discussion in Finland since the 1870s: in 1875 the Finnish historian Zachris Topelius (1818-1898) described in his book *Maamme kirja* (The Book of Our Country) the home as a representation of goodness, love and happiness and in 1878-1905 the concept of home and 'kodikkuus', meaning cosiness, was redefined and debated upon in the lead of A.A. Granfelt, the secretary of the Civilization Society of Finland (*Suomen Kansanvalistusseura*). Also women played a big role in this change. The magazines established for the Finnish Federation of Women started to emphasize the importance of homes for the children's well-being by the change of the century; for example, the *Emäntä* (Housewife) magazine informed its readers in 1904 that 'where the sun is shut outside, there the doctor is invited in.'[15]

By the turn of the century Finnish architects began to translate their visions of ideal homes into tangible creations. At that time the architectural language was greatly affected by the debates about national identity as Finland had been an autonomous part of the Russian Empire and was ruled by the Russian Emperor as Grand Duke since 1809.[16] In the 1890s the autonomic state of Finland developed into a political issue which eventually led to a tense relationship between the two countries. Beginning this decade Russian regime aimed to narrow Finland's autonomy through several acts that became to

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[12] Massey 1990, pp. 19, 32-33.
[13] The essay was originally published in the magazine *Idun* in 1897. Key later reworked and expanded the essay for her collected essays called *Skönhet för alla* (Beauty for All) in 1899 (Lane 2008, p. 56).
[14] Aav 2003, p. 38.
[15] Suhonen 2000, pp. 89-90. The original Finnish quote: 'Missä aurinko suljetaan ulos, siellä tohtori kutsutaan sisään.' This sentence resonates the contemporary way of thinking about healthy living environment. Hygiene became a topic of discussion already during the nineteenth century in architecture and interior design, especially after that harmful bacteria and viruses were discovered with the improvement of the microscope. At the same time dark and cluttered spaces were perceived to be a cause of several illnesses. To fight against these harmful influences, it was widely believed that the sun strays of the sunlight have a healing effect on some diseases such as tuberculosis (tbc). For this reason, the sanatoriums, a medical facility for treating tbc-patients, featured large windows and balconies where patients could 'absorb' as much 'curing' sunlight as possible. For more, see for example Paul Overy, *Light, Air & Openness: Modern Architecture Between Wars,* London 2007.
[16] Ehrnrooth 1998, p. 19.

be known as the 'Years of Oppression' (in Finnish *sortovuodet*) which lasted until 1917.[17] Under this political pressure national romanticism began to flourish in Finland, influencing artists, architects and other individuals in the cultural section. The essential 'Finnishness' was sought particularly from Karelia, a remote province in the Eastern Finland, which was perceived as the cradle of Finnish culture. The interest in the area was initially aroused by the publication of the national epos *Kalevala* in 1835, a book based on the Karelian oral traditions and folk poetry, but not until the end of the nineteenth century did it result with an aid of the romanticism in a cultural movement known as Karelianism.[18] The inspiration derived from national sources became mixed with the international influences of Art Nouveau and Arts and Crafts movement.[19] A prime example is the atelier Hvitträsk (1901-03) by the Finnish architecture firm Gesellius, Lindgren, Saarinen – consisting of architects Herman Gesellius (1874–1916), Armas Lindgren (1874-1929) and Eliel Saarinen (1873-1950) – which was built and decorated under the influence of Karelian and English motives among others (fig. 11-12).[20]

The national romanticism prevailed until the mid-1910s in Finland, after which the ornament became more abstract and limited. The nationalistic elements were replaced by symmetry and columns of the classical order; the so-called Nordic Classicism made a prominent appearance and would significantly characterize Finnish architecture, furniture design and applied arts until the late 1920s.[21] The most prominent example of the classicism is the parliament house in Helsinki (1924-30) by the office of Borg, Sirén, Åberg (fig. 13). After the politically difficult times in the late 1910s, the national romantic style did not get the same foothold as before.[22]

1.2. The Young Independent Nation Turns Its Eyes Towards the West

The turbulent years of the second half of the 1910s left Finland torn apart for the following decennium. In Russia the Tsarist autocracy was dismantled by the left-wing radicals Bolsheviks in 1917, which started an avalanche that eventually led to Finland's declaration of independence on December the sixth in the same year. Instead of a peaceful start, the first years of the independency were marked by a bloody civil war between the socialist revolutionary Red forces and the conservative White forces in 1918-1919. In a short period of time the nation was split in two.[23]

After the intense years of Russification Finland chose almost unanimously to look in the direction of the West; the previously open Eastern border was now both politically and economically

[17] Jutikkala 1960, p. 22-24, 31-34.
[18] Hämäläinen 2010, pp. 42-43. The *Kalevala* is put together by Finnish philologist and district health officer Elias Lönnrot (1802-1884). The oral traditions and folk poetry used for the book were gathered during his several expeditions in the East Karelia.
[19] Korvenmaa 2014, pp. 43, 65.
[20] Hämäläinen 2010, p. 98.
[21] Korvenmaa 2014, p. 59 and Standertskjöld n.d., p. 334. In Finland the movement is not called as 'Nordic Classicism', but is known as *1920-luvun klassismi* (Classicism of the 1920th) or *uusklassismi* (Neo-Classicism).
[22] Korvenmaa 2014, p. 59.
[23] Ehrnrooth 1998, p. 17.

closed after that Russia became the Communist Soviet Union and Finland, now independent Republic, wanted to emphasize its democracy.[24] By this time a new, more objective ideology had arisen alongside the expressive movements of the Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau in the West Europe. A new generation of avant-gardist architects and designers, led and influenced particularly by the Swiss-French architect Le Corbusier (1887-1965), the German art school *Bauhaus* (operated in 1919-1933) the Dutch artistic group *De Stijl* (established in 1917), created aesthetics known as the Modern Movement which strived to embody contemporary developments, fulfil the needs of a 'modern man' and create equality through industrial means.[25] The earlier resented mass production was now embraced as a new tool to create more functional and healthier environment and more democratic architecture and design for all.[26] Inspired by technological innovations like cars and airplanes and other machines, houses became 'machines to live in'.[27] The honest use of newest materials, such as concrete and tubular steel, contributed to the 'machine aesthetic' of architecture and furniture.[28] The old and cramped interiors, restricted before by the need for supporting walls, were opened into spacious free plan interiors with the invention of reinforced concrete. The openness was emphasized with large windows that connected the inside world with the outside. The unnecessary ornament was stripped down from both the exterior and interior inspired by the writings of the Austrian architect Adolf Loos (1870-1933) who associated ornaments with primitivism and criminality in his critical essay 'Ornament and Crime' in 1908.[29] In 1927 the modern architecture made its first international statement in a form of built prototypes in the Deutscher Werkbund Exhibition 'Die Wohnung' at Stuttgart, also referred as *Weissenhofsiedlung* (fig. 14).[30] The presented homes were light, hygienic, spacious and functional (fig. 15).[31]

One of the earliest indications of the modern ideology in Finland leads to the year of 1901, when the Finnish architect Gustaf Strengell (1878-1937) wrote about a new ideal of beauty which Germans called as 'Schönheit der Werkform' – a beauty based on a constructive form instead of superficial decors. Inspired by this, he argued: 'a chair is beautiful as soon as […] it fulfills its task.'[32]

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[24] Korvenmaa 2014, p. 69. 'Russification' is the name given to the policy of the Russian Empire which aimed to unite non-Russian communities, willingly or unwillingly, to the Russian one.
[25] This movement is known by other terms as well, such as the New Objectivity, Functionalism and International Style. However, all these terms slightly differ from each other by their meaning.
[26] Masssey 1990, p. 63 and Le Corbusier 1923/1986, p. 6.
[27] Le Corbusier 1923/1986, pp. 4-7.
[28] Banham 1983, pp. 187-188. For example, the Dutch architect Theo van Doesburg (1883-1931) wrote '[…] culture in its widest sense means independence of Nature then we must not wonder that the machine stands in the forefront of our cultural will-to-style […] The new possibilities of the machine have created an aesthetic expressive of our time, that I once called "The Mechanical Aesthetic".'
[29] The English version of the original article, published in 1908, retrieved from http://www2.gwu.edu/~art/Temporary_SL/177/pdfs/Loos.pdf on 14 March 2016.
[30] Massey 1990, p. 79. The housing-scheme at Stuttgard was directed by Mies van der Rohe who invited in total fifteen leading modern architects to take part in the event, including the mentioned architects from above and J.J.P. Oud (1890-1963), an architect from the Dutch De Stijl-group.
[31] Massey 1990, pp. 63, 79.
[32] Suhonen 2000, p. 98-99. The original Finnish quote: 'Tuoli on kaunis niin pian kuin se mahdollisimman täydellisessä määrin täyttää tehtävänsä.'

Yet it was not until the Stockholm Exhibition in 1930 that Functionalism was unleashed upon Finland.[33] Before the exhibition only a few progressive influences from the West Europe reached Finland; avant-garde was generally considered as left-wing, Bolshevik, which is why the eyes of Finnish architects were mainly directed towards the Nordic countries, especially to Sweden. Furthermore, in comparison to the West European countries, Finland developed comparatively late with industrialization and urbanization: in the 1920s 80% of the Finnish population still lived in the countryside, and it lasted until the 1930s before the mass production of everyday objects was fully set in motion.[34] At the turn of the 1930s the international modernism began to be adopted more widely in Finland since it was regarded as a sign of contemporaneity which fitted in the agenda of a young nation.[35] In contrast, by this time modernism was considered to be decadent by the totalitarian governments in Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union.

In a similar way to many West European countries, the Finnish working class was living in cramped conditions: in 1919 70% of all dwellings in highly populated areas were small homes of one or two rooms.[36] Guidebooks like *Miten sisustan asuntoni* (How to Decorate the Home) by architect Salme Setälä (1894-1980) in 1928, were published to help individuals with problems of the small apartments.[37] In 1930 the *Exhibition on the Rationalization of Small Apartments* was held at Taidehalli in Helsinki which exhibited modern, rationally designed small dwellings decorated with tubular steel furniture (fig. 16-17). The interior spaces were mainly done by young architects Alvar Aalto (1898-1976) and Pauli Blomstedt (1899-1935) who were supported by Aino Aalto (1894-1949), Erik Bryggman (1891-1955) and Märta Blomstedt (1899-1982).[38] The architects were clearly inspired by the West European examples: Bryggman had visited the Stuttgart exhibition and Pauli Blomstedt had a copy of *Innenräume* in his library, a book which demonstrated new, progressive architecture from abroad.[39] Alvar Aalto was also well aware of the developments in Europe and had many contacts with his international colleagues.[40] In the exhibition pamphlet *Pienasunto?* (The Small Dwelling?) Pauli Blomstedt defines the contemporary home with the following words:

[33] Suhonen 2000, p. 119.

[34] Korvenmaa 2014, pp. 79, 86, 92-98. According to Korvenmaa the Finnish furniture industry was the only industry in the country which developed itself significantly towards mass production methods in the 1920s. The mass production of other goods, such as ceramics and textiles, did not start before the 1930s in Finland.

[35] Saarikangas 2002, p. 11.

[36] Korvenmaa 2014, p. 83. However, according to the Finnish architectural journalist Asko Salokorpi (1935-2009) Finland's housing problems did not result from industrialization and slums caused by it like the situation was, for example, in England, since the industry was still in its infancy in the 1920s Finland (Salokorpi 1970, p. 9). In the beginning of this decade the standard living conditions of workers were improved by building suburbs such as the Puu-Käpylä section of Helsinki, yet many still lived in the smaller conditions for a longer period of time.

[37] Korvenmaa 2014, pp. 83-84.

[38] Suhonen 2000, pp. 123-124.

[39] Svinhufvud 2010, p. 22.

[40] In the second half of the 1920s Alvar Aalto travelled with his wife Aino Aalto in Europe. During their trip they visited numerous modern buildings in Denmark, Netherlands and France and met modern architects like André Lurçat (1894-1970). In 1929 Alvar Aalto took part to the second meeting of the organization CIAM (*Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne*), an influential organization which arranged a series of events

"In our time the home does not need to serve the means of old forms of society. The home is not anymore an institution which preserves emblems of prerogatives. In an era, which is characterized by equality in society, the home is freed from its task. […] It can now fully succumb to serve its habitants' daily comfort. Freed from its representative task, a contemporary home can form a natural environment for its habitants' normal life and activities."[41]

Here Blomstedt paints a socialistic picture of the future homes in which the size, spatial organization and social requirements is not determined by the residential area or by the habitants' social class in the same way as before. The new dwellings were organized around a nucleus family and their everyday life – in other words, the representative character of homes was replaced by a private one.[42] In practice this meant that the living spaces of apartments were rearranged in a way that living rooms, in Finland first called as *arkihuone* (literally 'everyday room'), became the new main stage in the everyday lives of the middle class family.[43]

The same social ideology reached the world of applied arts where a desire arose to offer proper, low-priced furniture for the working class and young families, and to 'steer' their interior design from an aesthetic point of view.[44] This ideology was especially influenced by the in 1919 published pamphlet *Vackare vardagsvara* (Better Things for Everyday Life) by the Swedish art historian Gregor Paulsson (1889-1977). The core of his publication was a socialistic idealism, which aimed to shape a popular taste by producing beautiful objects for everyday use, available for everyone, with the cooperation of a beautiful form and modern, industrial production methods.[45] In Finland the term *vackare vardagsvara* became to be spoken as *maun sosialiseeraus* (socializing the taste) and *kaunis arkitavara* (a beautiful object of an everyday life).[46] In the 1930s Paulsson's concept was embodied in the work of the Finnish architects and designers such as Marita Lybeck (1906-1990), Maija Heikinheimo (1908-1963) and Aino Aalto (1894-1949) who represented modern taste with their works.[47] Arttu Brummer, an influential

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and congresses by the most prominent modern architects of the time. Here he became good friends with Walter Gropius among others. The theme of the second meeting of CIAM in Frankfurt was 'Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum' (The minimum subsistence dwelling) which addressed the problem of high costs of the working class' living conditions. Only a year later these issues were reflected in Aalto's apartment designs for the *Exhibition on the Rationalization of Small Apartments* (Frampton 2001, p. 243). For more, see Göran Schildt, *Alvar Aalto; The Decisive Years,* Keuruu 1986.

[41] Suhonen 2000, p. 125. Published in the pamphlet *Pienasunto?* in 1930. The original Finnish quote: 'Meidän aikamme kodin ei enää tarvitse palvella vanhojen yhteiskuntamuotojen tarkoituksia. Koti ei enää ole etuoikeuksien tunnuskuvia säilyttävä institutio. Aikakautena, jonka tunnusmerkkinä on yhteiskunnallinen tasa-arvo, on kodin tehtäväkin vapautunut. [...] Se voi nyt täydellisesti antautua palvelemaan asukkaitensa jokapäiväistäkin viihtyisyyttä. Edustustehtävistä vapautettuna voi nykyajan koti nyt muodostaa luonnollisen ympäristön asukkaitensa normaalielämälle ja toiminnalle.'

[42] Saarikangas 2002, pp. 9, 11, 553-554.

[43] Sarantola-Weiss 2003, p. 80 and Saarikangas 2002, p. 562. Nowadays a living room is called as 'olohuone' in Finnish (literally "a room for being").

[44] Korvenmaa 2014, p. 83.

[45] Kåberg 2008, p. 59.

[46] Kalha 1997, p. 81.

[47] Aav 2003, p. 38.

person in Finnish applied arts, was also inspired by Paulsson's ideas even though he was known as a defender of indigenous craft traditions and techniques. Despite that, he supported the idea of harmonious integration of modernist and traditional ideals.[48] One can thus argue that although the modernist ideology of mass production was criticized in Finland, modernism was relatively wide accepted in the nation's applied art and design in the late 1930s – assumedly because of its connection with the idea of a modern society and the 'softer form' that modernism obtained in Finland.[49]

1.3. The National Reconstruction in the Post-War Years

From the second half of the 1930s onwards the signs of the Second World War were threateningly present. When the situation worsened in Europe, Finland attempted to find security by declaring its neutrality. Despite the efforts the country was invaded by the Russian forces in the winter of 1939, and in 1944-45 Finns had to face the German army in Lapland. In six years' time around 800,000 Finns were forced to abandon their homes, and a bit over 400,000 of them could never return since according to the Peace Treaty Finland had to cede 11-12 percent of its land area to the Soviet Union (fig. 18).[50] The resettlement of these people, largely Karelian, became a gigantic task which lasted until the beginning of the 1960s.[51]

The calamitous years of the Second World War made people realize the destructive power of modern technologies. The feeling of safety was searched from homes which became an ideological place that could hold families together in unstable times.[52] The new home was expected to be contemporary, suitable to its inhabitants' lifestyle and personality and express the beauty of the everyday life while being practical at the same time.[53] For the Finnish architects the reconstruction era was challenging since they were suddenly faced with several issues at the same time: besides the great

[48] Aav 1999, p. 123 and Aav and Stritzler-Levine 1998, p. 11. Some sources present Arttu Brummer as a total opposer of the Modern Movement; Sarantola-Weiss, for example, emphasizes this difference by using the term 'brummerilaisuus' ('Brummerlism') as its opposite (Sarantola-Weiss 2003, p. 94). It seems however that Brummer was not totally against modern technologies of mass production as long as traditional ideals were not neglected.

[49] Korvenmaa 2014, pp. 113, 120. Korvenmaa points out that Finnish modern design was realized in wooden furniture in contrast to European counterparts where tubular steel furniture was widely produced. Finnish architect and designer Alvar Aalto, for example, criticized the tubular steel furniture in 1935 by saying 'a chair […] is subjected to an endless succession of demands […]: an object that is a piece of everyday furniture in the home should not reflect too much light, […] reflect sounds unpleasantly […]. An object like a chair, coming into close touch with the skin, must not be made of material that is an effective heat conductor. These are only three of the requirements that the tubular steel chair fails to fulfil.' His criticism resulted in the creation of his *Paimio Chair* which is entirely made of bent plywood. Furthermore, architect Georg Grotenfelt stated in 1990 that 'here [in Finland] modernism has acquired a more unique, more organic and local form than elsewhere.' (published in 'Interview', *An Architectural Present – 7 Approaches* [Helsinki: Museum of Finnish Architecture, 1990], pp. 184-185).

[50] The 11-12 percent of the land area was approximately 43,800 square kilometers.

[51] Gripenberg 1960, pp. 57-60 and Fontell 1960, pp. 139, 144. According to these sources, the resettlement of homeless Finns was almost finished by 1960, as 'the resettlement of ex-servicemen with families, war widows and orphans, and war invalids […] is now in its final phase.'

[52] Sarantola-Weiss 2003, p. 104.

[53] Ibidem, pp. 104, 109.

demand for houses, architects were kept busy with the reparation of damaged buildings and projects for new factories and power plants. One solution to relieve the situation was to create standardized buildings which were suitable for mass production.[54] After the Winter War against Russia in 1939-40, two thousand prefabricated wooden homes were manufactured with the assistance of Swedish industry.[55] In cities the space-efficient modern dwellings of the 1920-1930s formed a base for the reconstruction and for the living model of middle class families.[56] The apartments were still generally small and many guidebooks presented solutions for an effective use of every square meter (fig. 19).[57]

The earlier v*ackare vardagsvara* discussion became again actual in the post-war years, partly because of the general concern about people's ability to make right choices as a consumer in their everyday lives.[58] Magazines such as *Kaunis koti* (Beautiful Home), established in 1948, advised its readers on issues related to homes while several organizations like *Suomen Taideteollisuusyhdistys* (Finnish Society of Crafts and Design) arranged exhibitions which 'function as an educator of a bigger crowd's taste […] give stimulus to home decoration and teaches the public to distinguish a good utensil from a bad one.'[59] One of these exhibitions was the in 1949 held *Kauneutta arkeen* (Beautiful Everyday) exhibition in Taidehalli in Helsinki, which was inspired by the exhibition *Ruotsalainen koti ja sen käyttöesineet* (Swedish home and its Utensils) organized in the same city a couple of years before, in 1947 (fig. 20).[60] This indicated the increasing need of Finland to be associated with the democratic Scandinavia. The first prominent step towards this goal was taken when Finnish representatives took part in the exhibition *Design in Scandinavia* which toured in the United States and Canada in 1954-57 (fig. 21).[61] The international success in the design sector strengthened the country's independent position even more during the 1950s; the peak was reached in 1954 when Finnish designers dominated the Tenth Milan Triennial by receiving 32 prizes, of which six were first place.[62] As a result Finnish

[54] Standertskjöld n.d., p. 334 and Laaksonen 2012, p. 50.
[55] Wærn 2008, p. 28. The houses were designed in Finland, but built in Sweden. The reason for this is that Sweden had a longer history with the manufacture of prefabricated houses than Finland, and the country was supposedly the world's leading manufacturer of wooden prefabs at the time (Wærn 2008, pp. 27-28).
[56] Saarikangas 2002, pp. 12, 553.
[57] Sarantola-Weiss 2003, pp. 111-112.
[58] Svenskberg 2012, p. 83.
[59] Ibidem, pp. 83-84, 92. Originally published in *Kaunis koti* magazine in 1952. The original Finnish quote: 'Näyttely toimii myös suuren yleisön maun kasvattajana [...] näyttely antaa edelleen virikkeitä kodinsisustukseen ja opettaa yleisön erottamaan hyvän käyttöesineen huonosta.'
[60] Kalha 1997, p. 83 and Laine 1999, p. 92. The *Kauneutta kotiin* exhibition was presented by Finnish architect Maija Heikinheimo (1908-1963) and designer Kaj Franck (1911-1989). Both are known for their minimalistic language of design, leaving only the essential elements in an object.
[61] Ibidem, p. 113. In the Finnish newspaper *Hufvudstadsbladet* it was written in 1955 that 'the exhibition fixed the place of the iron curtain in the eyes of the USA.' Translated from the Finnish quote: 'Näyttely korjasi rautaesiripun paikkaa USA:n silmissä.' Kalha further notes that Finland was set in map together with other Nordic countries, which was prominently present in the exhibition space.
[62] Myllyntaus n.d., p. 203. According to Myllytaus the total of 32 prizes was the largest proportion of available prizes in relative per capita terms. Some authors like Svenskberg call the Triennial of 1954 'Finland's biggest success of all time' (Svenskberg 2012, p. 85).

design received more national and international exposure than ever before which ultimately contributed in shaping the Finns public's taste at homes.[63]

1.4. The 1960s: The Decade of Consumerism, Egalitarianism and Utopian Living Spaces

By beginning of the 1960s people's minds were filled with optimism and enthusiasm in Finland. The wounds caused by the war were gradually recovering, and due to a speedy resettlement of homeless Finns many of the evacuees were able to start a normal life in their new location.[64] The economic situation was improved as well: the war reparations to the Soviet Union were finished in 1952, and by the mid-1950s the last rationed goods were made available again.[65] The increased wealth of individuals meant that more and more money could be spent on home and its interior.[66] At the same time the cultural life gained a new impulse with the arrival of television and rock 'n roll music from abroad, especially from the United States and England where the young adults began to attract the attention as a potential market force during the 1950s. A youth culture and a new model of consumerism came into existence which focused in the needs of the young adults.[67]

In the early 1960s another massive wave of migration took place in Finland, but only this time from the countryside to cities. Since the 1940s the industry had expanded and people were increasingly engaged in urban occupations which meant a rise in the urban population and standard of living.[68] In a similar way to the previous decade minimum dwellings were posed as an answer to the housing problem. Only this time small-dwellings were perceived as a competitive alternative to living in apartment buildings and as an opportunity to create harmonically scaled forms of surrounding.[69] Together with this development more emphasis was set on prefabrication of houses and modular building technique, that is, a construction method for setting a house together like a puzzle from ready-made sections known as *modules* (fig. 22).[70] The uniform solutions were encouraged by the contemporary egalitarian ideals which aimed to create a society in which the citizens were treated equally. With the appearance of the social reforms such as the Sickness Insurance Act in 1964, Finland was becoming a Nordic welfare state.[71] The earlier discussions of home's aesthetic value were replaced

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[63] Korvenmaa 2014, pp. 175, 196 and Svenskberg 2012, p. 94.
[64] Fontell 1960, pp. 143-144.
[65] http://yle.fi/aihe/artikkeli/2016/01/13/toinen-jalka-maaseudulla-toinen-kaupungissa-suomineito-vuonna-1956 and http://www.finland.org/public/default.aspx?contentid=149650&nodeid=40956&contentlan=2&culture=en-US, both retrieved on 8 March 2016. According to the information provided by the Finnish Embassy in Washington, D.C., Finland was obliged to pay 7% (300 million US dollars) of its national income to the Soviet Union in the form of goods. The last remittance was set in sail in September 1952. The Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE tells that the depression lasted until 1954 in Finland; by then coffee was made available again, which was the last rationed item after the Second World War.
[66] Svenskberg 2012, p. 94.
[67] Bayley, Garner, Sudjic 1986, pp. 246, 254-255.
[68] Waris 1960, p. 127.
[69] *Arkkitehti* 1966, p. II.
[70] Quantrill 1995, p. 144.
[71] Connah 2005, p. 159.

by debates upon taxes, interest rates and the living conditions of the youth.[72] In Finnish design sector it was suggested that decorative arts should be anonymous since the 'star cult of designers', arisen after the success in the 1950, was perceived to be a harmful phenomenon and unnecessary in the production of everyday objects.[73]

The modernist aesthetic, even though criticized by the new generation of architects in the United States and West Europe, had become the predominant way of thinking in Finland by the turn of the 1960s.[74] In 1970 the Finnish architecture journalist Asko Salokorpi described that 'at the beginning of the 1960's Finnish architecture found itself, in many respects, in the same ideological position as in 1927. Architects were faced with similar social situation, the same trend of modernism and a similar stylistic crisis. The younger architects formed new links with functionalism.'[75] The conflict between the young generation of architects and Alvar Aalto, who had switched from the strict Finnish Modernism to a more expressive architecture, and the renewed interest in solving the social issues like poverty, injustice and deprivation, turned out into the search for a new objectivity.[76] The spirit of modernism was also adopted by domestic industries and the modern ideals of living, such as the benefits of rational objects and furnishings for the home, were widely promoted by women's organizations such as Martha Federation and contemporary women's magazines like *Kotiliesi* (Fireside) and the earlier mentioned *Kaunis koti* (Beautiful Home).[77]

Distinctive for the 1960s way of thinking was utopianism – characterized by the idealistic visions of 'the perfect realm' that were sometimes beyond realization – which reflected in the issues regarding the living environment as well. The Space War between the United States and Russia evoked by the launch of the first man-made object into the space in 1957, and the increasing fear for the environmental crises fired the imaginations of architects and designers around the world to visualize living spaces in environments that had been overlooked or dismissed as unfavorable for human beings before. The wild plans varied from domed cities to megastructures set in the air (fig. 23-24).[78] Also the idea of a nuclear family became questioned which led to the envisagement of new and radical ways of living. In Germany a group of designers created numerous living spaces in a rented excursion boat for the chemical company Bayer in the late 1960s; the results varied from futuristic 'Space Age' interiors

[72] Wærn 2008, p. 29 and Sarantola-Weiss 2003, p. 120.
[73] Huokuna 2006, pp. 41-42.
[74] Bayley, Garner, Sudjic 1986, pp. 214-221, Korvenmaa 2014, p. 198. According to the first source the Modern Movement was criticized as, among other, simple-minded and fascist after the Second World War. Some argued that it was not an architectural style at all. In Finland the Modern Movement continued its popularity, even though one of the leading modern architects, Alvar Aalto's, language of architecture became more expressive, regionalist and romantic – seen for example in his material choices and curvier lines in the buildings – after the late 1930s. For more, see for example Malcolm Quantrill, *Alvar Aalto: A Critical Study*, New York 1983.
[75] Salokorpi 1970, p. 42.
[76] Connah 2005, pp. 166, 169, 182.
[77] Korvenmaa 2014, p. 201.
[78] Pavitt and Crowley 2008, p. 164 and Crowley 2008, pp. 251-257.

to organically shaped spaces made from a foam plastic and textile (fig. 25-26).[79] In Finland one of the most utopian experiments was the UFO-like *Futuro House*, designed by the Finnish architect Matti Suuronen (1933-2013) in 1968, which was seemingly inspired by the contemporary discussions about the outer space (fig. 27).[80]

[79] Sarantola-Weiss 2003, p. 124 and 'Visiona 1970', retrieved from http://www.design-museum.de/en/exhibitions/detailseiten/visiona.html on 15 April 2016.
[80] Sarantola-Weiss 2003, p. 125.

II. A Company Called 'Marimekko'

2.1. The Establishment of Marimekko and Its Early Years

In 1949 the former lieutenant Viljo Ratia (1911-2006) and his friend Arvo Nurmi purchased a bankruptcy estate of a small Helsinki-based oilcloth fabric company Kummos.[81] From the remains of the old company they created Printex, which continued with manufacturing Kummos' old products. Viljo's wife, an educated textile artist Armi Ratia, saw however more potential in the company. With her vision Printex began to produce bold and colourful screen printed cotton fabrics which were patterned with original prints made by Armi and her artist friends (fig. 28). In short time Printex managed to gain attention and to make its fabrics available to the public in the textile department store Te-Ma in Helsinki.[82]

Despite the efforts Printex fabrics did not sell well enough. In order to increase the sales Armi contacted the Finnish fashion artist Riitta Immonen (1918-2008), with who she developed an idea of a French inspired *haute couture* fashion show which would feature modern clothing sewn from the Printex textiles.[83] In that way the stay-at-home mothers could be inspired to create their own clothing from the company's fabrics.[84] In May 1951 the collection of 24 dresses was shown at the Kalastajantorppa hotel in Helsinki, in one the biggest and finest restaurant of the city at the time (fig. 29-30).[85] Against all expectations the fashion show was an enormous success; the public was so enthusiastic that they wanted to purchase the clothes on the spot.[86] The brightly coloured and patterned dresses were a refreshing sight in the post-war Finland where fabrics were mainly army gray due to the shortages.[87] However, the success could not be celebrated for long since the sudden demand created new problems for a young company; no-one was prepared for the sale of clothes, nor did they have any sufficient space for the mass production of dresses. Yet Armi bravely stated that clothes will be sold beginning the very next morning.[88] Five days later, on the 25th of May in 1951, the 'Marimekko Oy'

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[81] McCabe 2013, p. 33, Härkäpää et al. 2012, p. 222 and Saarikoski 1977, p. 49.
[82] Aav, Kivilinna, Viljanen 2011, pp. 12-13 and Saarikoski 1977, pp. 50-51.
[83] Saarikoski 1977, p. 51 and Lindstedt 1991, p. 18.
[84] Ainamo 2003, p. 22.
[85] Saarikoski 1977, p. 52.
[86] Saarikoski 1977, p. 52 and Ainamo 2003, p. 22.
[87] Lindstedt 1991, p. 18. In an interview Viljo Ratia recalled that 'in Finland there was still a shortage of everything, textiles were army grey, all colours were more or less absent. Then suddenly [...] this Marimekko appears. It was some kind of shock for the Finns.' The original Finnish quote: 'Suomessa oli vielä pula kaikesta, tekstiilit armeijan harmaata, kaikki värit suurinpiirtein puuttuivat. Sitten tulee yht'äkkiä [...] tämmöinen Marimekko. Se oli jonkinlainen shokki suomalaisille.' Moreover, in *Kaunis koti* it was written in 1967 (nr. 7) that 'Everywhere it was enormously yearned for warmer, glowing colours instead of white and black, for round and curved lines instead of rigorous straightforward lines, and for the richness, lushness and fullness of life instead of mere soberness.' The original Finnish quote: 'Kaikkialla kaivattiin kipeästi lämpimämpiä, hehkuvia värejä mustan ja valkoisen sijaan, pyöreitä, kaartuvia viivoja ankaran suoraviivaisuuden sijaan ja rehevyyttä, runsautta, elämän täyteyttä pelkän asiallisuuden sijaan.'
[88] Ainamo 2003, p. 22 and Lindstedt 1991, p. 18.

(Marimekko Corporation) was registered as an independent legal entity which manufactures ‘all kinds of costumes and accessories, including commissioned work and the wholesale and retail sale of those materials, and their production and export.’[89] The name ‘Marimekko’ (*Mary’s dress*) resulted from Armi’s second name Maria and the Finnish word ‘mekko’, meaning dress.[90] In the beginning orders were pouring in, but the small company could barely produce and deliver the dresses on time. The company was forced to enlarge their facilities, but as soon as the amount of orders decreased after the summer, the factory stood still and made loss. The cotton dresses were, after all, not suitable for cold winter months. In the press, however, the dresses were praised by the fashion critics in popular women magazines all summer long. To sum it up, the first year of Marimekko resulted in a good name and big debts.[91]

After a couple of years of struggling, the course of the company shifted. In 1953 a young textile designer Vuokko Eskolin (later Nurmesniemi) joined the company and changed its direction with her unique vision for clothing and fabric design. For example, when Armi asked her to copy a known print *Oomph* designed by Finnish-Swedish designer Viola Gråsten (1910-94) in 1952, Vuokko transformed the small-sized triangular pattern into a minimalistic design made of large fields of flat, solid colour (fig. 31-32). The dresses designed by her followed the same minimalistic language which presented the large prints of fabrics in their fullest potential (fig. 33).[92] During the second half of the 1950s Marimekko broadened its scope from national to international milieu which marked the beginning of a new era in the company’s history.[93] The first international appearance was made in Stockholm, Sweden, on 29th of August in 1958. The clothing collection designed by Vuokko Eskolin did not impress the Swedes, but had nevertheless a huge impact on the local press.[94] Soon Marimekko found international representatives from Australia and the United States. Especially the American representative, the retail store Design Research founded and led by architect Benjamin Thompson (1918-2002) in Cambridge, Massachusetts, played an important role in the international success of Marimekko. It was from his store that Jacqueline Kennedy, the first lady of the United States, bought several Marimekko dresses at once in 1960. After that she wore one of the dresses on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* magazine in the same year, an immediate publicity was brought to Marimekko leading to sharply increased sales abroad (fig. 34).[95] The company which had a humble start, produced a decade later circa 70,000 dresses with 260 employees.[96]

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[89] McCabe 2013, p. 33.
[90] Lindstedt 1991, pp. 17-18.
[91] Saarikoski 1977, pp. 60-61.
[92] Markkanen 2015, retrieved from http://www.hs.fi/kuukausiliite/a1305957914119 on 17 April 2016.
[93] Ainamo 2003, p. 23.
[94] Saarikoski 1977, p. 66-67.
[95] Ainamo 2003, pp. 23-24, 27, 29.
[96] A newspaper clipping of *Ylä-Vuoksi,* 1960s, no page number.

2.2. Armi Ratia, the Karelian Cosmopolitan (1912-1979)

To understand Marimekko in its beginning years it is essential to know the background of one of the Marimekko's founders, Armi (fig. 35). Although Viljo Ratia played undoubtedly an important part in the financial affairs of the company, Armi was the heart and soul of Marimekko, and its visionary from early on.[97] A good friend of hers, Finnish writer Tuula Saarikoski, described Armi in 1977: 'Marimekko is a more important part of Armi than family, children, marriage, men, love relationships and disappointments in love. […] During the last 25 years Armi has been Marimekko and Marimekko has been Armi.'[98]

Armi Maria Airaksinen, later Ratia, was born on the 13th of July in 1912 in a village called Pälkjärvi, located to the Northern Karelia, close to the East border of Finland at the time (nowadays largely in Russia). The Airaksinen family consisted of her father Matti Airaksinen, a merchant, her mother Hilma Korvenoja, a primary school teacher, little sister Saara and brothers Aimo, Sakari and Samuli (fig. 36).[99] Already in her childhood Armi was accustomated to a regular change of living environment. The first schoolyears Armi spent in Pälkjärvi, but a few years she studied with her brother Aimo in Joensuu, around 100 kilometers to the northwest. When Armi's father became concerned about his children's education, he decided that the whole family should move to Koivisto, a coastal town in the Vyborg province in the southeast of Finland. The vivid seafaring culture of the town meant more potential customers and bigger business for Armi's father. Here Armi encountered for the first time an international milieu filled with Russian, French, English and German emigrants and sailors, who became the customers of her father's shop and small hotel (fig. 37).[100]

The Airaksinen family hardly ever inhabited their home alone. The Pälkjärvi home accommodated besides Armi's family housekeepers, shop assistants, and individuals who took care of their animals. Armi's father emphasized the importance of treating everybody equally, thus the use of terms such as 'piika' (maid) or 'renki' (famhand) was strictly forbidden.[101] The same spirit continued in Koivisto where their hotel was visited by guests from home and abroad. Armi's mother Hilma fixed and ironed their clothes and food was cooked together. Meanwhile Armi, who grew up surrounded by the business of her father, learned at home the basics of business making and the way of treating

[97] Armi Ratia was generally seen as the driving force behind Marimekko. In 1964 Armi was for example described in the article 'Marimekon maallikkosaarnaaja' (Marimekko's lay preacher) by Finnish journalist Anna Lindegren with the following words: 'Armi Ratia ought to be taken around the world to all the mass meetings, fairs, circuses and amusement parks. Put her on show and say: "Look closely, this woman believes in herself, dares to be herself and dares to think in her own personal way!" – Armi Ratia is a phenomenon. And also a promulgator, Marimekko's lay preacher.' Originally published in *Anna* magazine 28 (1964) 18 (Aav 2003, p. 42).

[98] Saarikoski 1977, p. 7. The original Finnish quote: 'Marimekko on tärkeämpi osa Armi Ratiaa kuin perhe, lapset, avioliitto, miehet, rakastumiset ja pettymykset rakkaudessa. [...] Viimeisten 25 vuoden ajan Armi on ollut Marimekko ja Marimekko on ollut Armi.'

[99] Ibidem, pp. 15-16.

[100] Saarikoski 1977, p. 17 and Tanttu 1968/2012, p. 16.

[101] Tanttu 1968/2012, pp. 11-12, 16.

customers.[102] As it will later appear, Armi applied these teachings effectively during her Marimekko years.

In the beginning of the 1930s Armi met the cadet Viljo Ratia, also known as 'Vee', through a mutual friend (fig. 38).[103] The young couple fell in love and started to plan their future together. Shockingly to her father, Armi decided to drop her high school studies so that she could follow Viljo to Helsinki where he left to study at the Finnish Military Academy. Once there, she began to pursue artistic career and started textile design studies at Taideteollisuuskeskuskoulu (Institute of Industrial Arts) in 1932.[104] Her talent was quickly recognized, and already during her student years her work *Suosatu* (literally 'Swamp Fairytale') was rewarded by the Friends of Finnish Handicrafts, the promotor of Finnish textile art since 1879.[105] Armi graduated from the institute in 1935, and later in the same year she and Viljo celebrated their wedding back in Koivisto.[106] One year later Armi decided to return to Vyborg to run her own textile mill which produced furnishing fabrics, rugs and wall-hangings with six weavers at best.[107] Some of her creations got public recognition in the magazines.[108] Armi's success and the newlyweds' happiness was however shadowed by the threat of war, which became reality in 1939. The Soviet Union's invasion of Finland meant that Viljo and the three brothers of Armi were called to the battlefield. In the following years Armi's home in Vyborg was left in ruins and the textile mill had to be closed.[109] At the end of the war the old lives in the area had to be left behind permanently; more than 400,000 Karelians were expelled from the ceded territory. Viljo returned from the war unharmed, but all three brothers of Armi – Aimo, Sakari, and Samuli – passed away. With nothing left in Karelia, Armi and Viljo returned to Helsinki.[110]

In the capital city Viljo and Armi started a new life. In 1941 their first child, Ristomatti, was born, and a couple of years later the family grew with the births of the son Antti and daughter Eriika.[111] In circa 1942 Armi's sister Saara talked Armi into applying for the job in the advertising agency Erva-Latvala.[112] The next seven years Armi worked as an advertising agent who wrote and planned commercials for the glassware company Karhula-Iittala (nowadays Iittala) among others.[113] She was fired from the company in 1949, yet she did not leave the business empty-handed but had built up priceless experience during these years. Some of her idioms which she used repeatedly in her

[102] Saarikoski 1977, p. 18.
[103] Ibidem, p. 20.
[104] Aav 2003, pp. 25-26 and Saarikoski 1977, pp. 20-21.
[105] Tanttu 1968/2012, p. 22. Armi's work was bought by the Japanese ambassador Ishikawa.
[106] Aav 2003, p. 29.
[107] Ibidem, p. 29.
[108] Tanttu 1968/2012, p. 26.
[109] Saarikoski 1977, p. 25.
[110] Ibidem, pp. 26-27.
[111] Saarikoski 1977, p. 25, 47 and Lindstedt 1991, p. 24.
[112] Saarikoski 1977, p. 27.
[113] Ibidem, p. 42.

Marimekko years, such as ‘everything changes into advertising’ and ‘selling is informing’, derived from her time at the advertising agency.[114]

In 1951 Marimekko was born and Armi became its director. For the company’s employees Armi was known as ‘Vanha Äiti’ (Old Mother), in public she was labeled as the ‘Karelian Cosmopolitan’.[115] As the employees described, Armi was ‘a mother who created the “we” spirit. […] Armi was power and freedom. Armi was the motor, the rest of us other parts – one a steering wheel, one a coupling gear […] – all necessary and working for the same, common company.’[116] Her son Ristomatti has described Armi as a person who was highly imaginative, emotionally strong, warm, and never boring: ‘Everything was possible. Life was an act and a big setting.’[117] She was indeed led by a rollercoaster of emotions which left no-one cold; sometimes she brought her employees personalized souvenirs from her trips, at other times anybody could get fired on the spot.[118] For the press she gave often shocking statements like in 1977 when Armi was featured in the cover of the *Suur Seura* magazine dressed in a black cope with an enormous, dramatic title ‘I want to die in a potato field’ (fig. 39).[119] She loved drama and theatricality, which is why people’s opinion about her were easily split. Yet many still agrees that Armi had a unique ability of gathering gifted, innovative and brave people together and give them creative freedom and trust to their work, which was very much appreciated by artists and designers.[120] According to Kirsti Paakkanen (1929-), the director of Marimekko in 1991-2008, Armi ‘fought for the creativity against the economics’.[121] For Armi creativity came before numbers, which often caused gray hairs for the financial managers of the company.

Armi passed away in 1979, but she has nevertheless remained as a controversial figure in Finland up till this day. The last scandal was in September 2015 when the book *Marimekko – Suuria kuvioita* (Marimekko – Big Patterns) was published, telling until now unknown details about Armi’s life. In this book Marimekko’s former member of the board, Jörn Donner (1933-), describes very directly Armi’s relationship with the former Finnish president Urho Kekkonen (1900-1986) to have been a sexual one (fig. 40). His comment spread quickly in the Finnish media and stirred up heated

[114] Saarikoski 1977, pp. 46-47.
[115] Saarikoski 1977, p. 48 and Aav 2003, p. 20. According to Aav, Armi was labeled as ’Karelian Cosmopolitan’ in the East Finnish newspaper *Karjala* (Karelia), published on 9 January 1964, as an indication to her origins in Karelia. Armi loved to give herself names as well: in a YLE documentary from 1976 she referred to herself as ‘karjalainen laukkuryssä ja jonkinlainen merenkävijä’ (Karelian bag Russian and a some kind of seafarer). ‘A bag Russian’ is a term used to refer to the East Karelian or Russian peddlers who travelled in Finland. In the documentary it is further told that Armi has also called herself as ‘rääväsuinen karjalaisämmä’ (a potty-mouthed Karelian hag) and ‘rätintekijä’ (a rag maker).
[116] Koivuranta et al. 2015, p. 84. The original Finnish quote: ‘Armi oli äiti. Hän loi meille me-hengen […]. Armi oli voima ja vapaus. Armi oli moottori, me muut muita osia – kuka ohjauspyörä, kuka kytkin [...] – kaikki tarpeellisia ja yhteisen yrityksen eteen työtä tekeviä.’
[117] Koivuranta et al. 2015, p. 84. The original Finnish quote: ’Äiti oli mielikuvitusrikas ja lämmin tunneihminen eikä koskaan tylsä. [...] Kaikki oli mahdollista. Elämä oli näytelmä ja suuri lavastus.’
[118] Koivuranta et al. 2015, pp. 84-85.
[119] Karsi 1995, p. 79.
[120] Koivuranta et al. 2015, p. 54.
[121] Ibidem, p. 9. The original Finnish quote: ‘Armi taisteli luovuuden puolesta ekonomeja vastaan.’

debate.[122] These events prove that Armi's life stays intriguing and continues to fascinate people. She was, after all, according to her own words, a woman who did not want to do anything conventional.[123]

[122] The Finnish evening newspaper Ilta-Sanomat, for example, published the news with a big title 'Jörn Donner describes the relationship of Armi Ratia and Urho Kekkonen in a book: 'They probably had sex a couple of times'. His comment was quickly condemned by several individuals, one of which was the promoter of Finnish industrial art and cultural exports, Lenita Airisto (1937-). Sources (only in Finnish): http://www.iltasanomat.fi/viihde/art-1441691511085.html and http://www.mtv.fi/viihde/seurapiirit/artikkeli/lenita-airisto-jyrahtaa-reitta-pitkin-ei-tulla-armi-ratiaksi/5303640, both retrieved on 01 March 2016.
[123] Koivuranta et al. 2015, p. 9.

III. The Marimekko Vision of Interior Design and Architecture

3.1. Marimekko Embarks on the Interior Design and Architecture

'So what will the factory actually do, was the first question I asked myself. […] Of course it will make dresses, I thought. But it will make many other thing as well. Even houses.'
- Armi Ratia, 1967[124]

In the early 1960s Armi began with the promotion of 'a certain kind of lifestyle', called by her as 'Modern Living'.[125] Her new aim signaled that she did not desire to Marimekko remain as only a textile- and clothing design company, but had further plans for its production. This becomes evident, among others, in a letter that Armi wrote to Marimekko's designer Maija Isola (1927-2001) on 25th of October in 1963 in which she mentions her dream of manufacturing bedsheets and the need of finding a resolution for manufacturing wallpapers.[126] Probably around this time Marimekko started to produce products for everyday life.[127] By 1967 the selection of Marimekko products was broadened from the fabrics and garments into 'candles, glasses, trays, bags, slippers, blanket, toys, hats and goodness knows what else'.[128] Two years later Marimekko increased the amount of co-operation with several Finnish manufacturing companies by launching the product line *Marimekko by* which consisted of furniture, laminate panels and paper, plastic, tricot and glass products made with the Marimekko aesthetics (fig. 41-42).[129] By the end of the 1960s the company had clearly taken over the field of interior design.[130]

Almost simultaneously with the first plans for Marimekko interior objects Armi was busy with launching the company's first residential building project, the Mari Village. The first indication of the

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[124] Nikula 2003, p. 119. Originally published in the Finnish newspaper *Uudenmaan Sanomat* on 22 July 1967.
[125] Ainamo 2003, p. 23, Koivuranta et al. 2015, p. 64 and Donner 1986, p. 9. Ainamo notes that Armi had set the goal to promote 'a certain kind of lifestyle' already in the mid-1950s. Probably he refers to the letter written by Armi in 1954 (mentioned on the next page). However, since the first concrete steps towards the realization of 'Marimekko lifestyle' were taken in the early 1960s and it is not exactly known when the idea of 'Modern Living' was born, it is safer to say that the promotion of this lifestyle began in the 1960s.
[126] Aav, Kivilinna, Viljanen 2011, p. 55.
[127] During the research the author could not find out when the earliest Marimekko interior products were brought to the market; based on Armi's letter to Maija Isola we can assume it happened somewhere around at the beginning of 1964, since it would take time to find fitting manufacturers for these products.
[128] Nikula 2003, p. 121. An extraction of Armi Ratia's interview from 1967, originally published in *Tehostaja* (April 1967). These products were designed by, among others, Hilkka Rahikainen, Annika Rimala, Liisa Suvanto and Rita Salo (Aav, Kivilinna, Viljanen 2011, p. 71).
[129] Newspaper clippings of *Nya Pressen Helsingfors* (25 March 1969), *Ilkka Seinäjoki* (6 April 1969) and *Aamulehti Tampere* (23 March 1969), from the archives of the Design Museum, Helsinki. Marimekko co-operated with several manufacturing companies, such as the glass factory Nuutajärven lasi and furniture companies Peem Oy, Vakiopuu Oy and Lepokalusto Oy. In case of furniture, the used models for the 'Marimekko by' line belonged to a permanent collection of the factories, which were upholstered with Marimekko fabrics.
[130] McCabe 2013, p. 35.

village dates from 1963, but the project was more widely covered by the press in Finland and abroad in 1967.[131] On that year Armi also revealed in an interview that she was always fascinated by houses, so 'now it's time to start making them'.[132] Marimekko's first building project was planned to consist both a village and factory which together would cover about eight hectares in Porvoo's Gäddrag district and 30 hectares nearby the manor house Bökars, located about 60-70 kilometers east of Helsinki.[133]

With the expansion of Marimekko's business on the field of interior design and architecture Armi created a visual environment in which Marimekko products made all part of the same aesthetic language.[134] It has been proposed that the driving force behind all these changes was Armi's desire to sell Marimekko as a lifestyle, a distinctive way of living.[135] The most changes within the production of Marimekko took place during the 1960s, yet it seems that the idea of Marimekko in all areas of life originates from the early 1950s. In 1954 Armi's letter for a bank said that 'Marimekko is […] project for this changing world's highways, streets, homes, and a whole living environment'.[136] In 1959 her words were reformulated in the company's action plan: 'the business idea of Marimekko is the application of creative thinking in the surrounding world, people, work environment, lifestyle, objects.'[137] These documents, dating way before the first Marimekko interior products, strengthen the hypothesis that Armi was from early on aiming to create a whole lifestyle concept with Marimekko, and not just fashion. The production of textiles and clothes can be perceived as the first step towards this goal, but even then Marimekko separated itself from the conventional fashion industry; according to Viljo Ratia Armi never intended to follow the example of Paris at the time that it was customary to create a clothing collection based on the examples seen in the fashion capital.[138] Instead, Armi decided to avoid the word 'fashion' and replaced it with the concept of 'serving clothes.'[139] After seeing the Marimekko clothes in Stockholm in 1958, the Swedish fashion critic Rebecka Tarschys described her sight as 'a new era of fun clothes' which were 'body democratic' and 'anti-fashion'.[140] Notable is also

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[131] Nikula 2003, p. 130. Based on the research in the archives of the Design Museum Helsinki, most newspaper clippings and articles which mention the Mari Village date from 1967. One of the earliest indications to the Mari Village can be found from the article 'Naisemme New Yorkissa' (Our Women in New York), published in *Hopeapeili* magazine number 1 in 1964, in which it is written that '[...] Marimekko is one with Armi Ratia. However, Armi is more than just Marimekko. At the moment she is a Mari Village, new props of home and living and export.' The original Finnish quote: '[…] Marimekothan ovat yhtä Armi Ratian kanssa. Armi Ratia sen sijaan on paljon muutakin kuin marimekkoja. Tällä hetkellä hän on ennen kaikkea marikylää, kodin ja elämisen uutta rekvisiittaa ja vientiä.'

[132] Nikula 2003, p. 119. Originally published in the newspaper *Uudenmaan Sanomat*, 22 July 1967.

[133] Ibidem, p. 119.

[134] Ibidem, pp. 119-120.

[135] Ainamo 2003, p. 29.

[136] Armi's original letter says in Finnish: 'Marimekko on Männistönmuorin Venlan ja Vuohenkalman Annan kinttupolun projisoimista tämän muuttuvan maailman valtateille, kaduille, koteihin ja koko elämänympäristöön.' (Karsi 1995, p. 49).

[137] Karsi 1995, pp. 48-49. The original Finnish quote: 'Marimekon toimitus-ajatus on luovan ajattelun soveltaminen ympäröivään maailmaan, ihmisiin, työympäristöön, elämäntapaan, esineisiin.'

[138] Ratia 1986, p. 28 and Wiikeri 1986, p. 35.

[139] Ibidem, p. 28.

[140] Tarschys 1986, p. 101.

the fact that early Marimekko designers had no background in fashion design: Maija Isola was initially educated as an artist, Vuokko Eskolin as a ceramist and Annika Piha (later Rimala) as a graphic designer.[141]

It could be that Armi's desire to expand Marimekko's production to interior design and architecture was pushed further in the United States. In 1964 she told in an interview in *Hopeapeili* that she had read from an American business and finance newspaper that two things were expected to sell more in the near future: housing, 'because people will move from straw huts to houses in under-developed lands', and service like televisions, furniture, cars and holiday trips. In contrast clothes, food and books were predicted to sell less.[142] One might thus argue that the expansion of Marimekko's products partly resulted from a business strategy. Besides that, in 1959 Armi had met the American architect Benjamin Thompson, an old student of the German architect Walter Gropius – the advocate of the *Bauhaus* school of thought – and the founder of the interior store Design Research, during her business trip in the United States.[143] Since their first meeting the two remained as close lifelong friends until Ami's death in 1979 (fig. 43).[144] During their twenty-year-long friendship they exchanged similar ideas about an ideal lifestyle and both created a business environment which stood out from the rest; in Thompson's own words, Design Research represented contemporary life while Marimekko was a movement of liberation.[145]

Thompson encountered the bright Marimekko fabrics for the first time at the 1958 World's Fair in Brussels. Together with the works of the prominent Finnish designers such as Alvar Aalto, Tapio Wirkkala and Kaj Franck, the fabrics designed by Maija Isola for Printex-Marimekko were displayed in upright panels.[146] In 1960 Isola's fabrics were present in another big stage in the world of applied arts, at the Milan Triennial (fig. 44).[147] Sometimes contemporary Finnish design was brought to

[141] Wiikeri 1986, p. 35.
[142] Ahtiluoto 1964, p. 14.
[143] Thompson and Lange 2010, p. 8 and Saarikoski 1977, pp. 68-69.
[144] Thompson 1986, p. 110.
[145] Thompson 1986, p. 110, Thompson and Lange 2010, p. 13 and Tarschys 1966, no page numbers. In 1966 *Mobilia,* an international magazine for interior design, described the atmosphere at the DR stores with the following words: 'A smell of spices and home and cooking coming from somewhere. Fresh flowers just everywhere. And music filling the house; something promising in the jazz notes adventuring away. Candles burning, a loaf of bread. Something does it – the light, happy colours, gay sensuality. This is a modern store.' This description sounds very similar to the way how the happenings in the manor house Bökars or the Marimekko fashion shows were described by the Finnish press. The *Ylä-Vuoksi* newspaper, for example, described the Marimekko fashion show in the 1960s: 'A dozen thick candles of different lengths were burning on the stairs in the courtyard of the Adlon's castle. Branches of yellow-petaled mimosa flowers were set in long vases, and in wide vases yellow narcissus were glowing.' The original quote in Finnish: 'Kymmenet eripituiset, paksut kynttilät paloivat Adlonin linnanpihan portailla. Keltakukkaisia mimosa […] oksia oli pitkissä maljoissa ja leveissä maljakoissa hehkuivat keltaiset narsissit.'
[146] Thompson 1986, p. 110. At the time Printex and Marimekko were still two separated companies that existed next to each other; in 1966 Printex and Marimekko were merged (Saarikoski 1977, p. 116).
[147] Saarikoski 1977, pp. 68-69 and Aav 2003, p. 21. Already in 1957 Armi was requested to arrange a Marimekko show for the opening of the Milano Triennale. For the first time ever clothing design would have made part of an applied arts exhibition. However, the clothes were never exhibited in Milan because a rule was found that clothes did not fulfil the criteria of applied arts (Saarikoski 1977, pp. 65-66).

Marimekko fashion shows: once, for example, models posed in front of the *Lokki* lamps, designed by Yki Nummi in 1960 (fig. 45-46). In other words, Marimekko strongly identified itself with applied arts and the concept of 'Finnish Design', already noticed in the *Anna* magazine in 1965: 'Marimekko is […] applied arts, Finnish design.'[148] Saarikoski has also noted that Marimekko did not compete in the clothing or textile industry, but with the interior design industry.[149] The situation was about to change in 1966 when the company's next plans were unveiled: Marimekko had entered the world of architecture.

3.2. A Home in the Marimekko Style: The Experimental House

Many of Armi's ideas were born in an intercourse with inspiring people with who she had surrounded herself. The idea of the Mari Village is probably born in a similar way. According to Ainamo the Ratias would have one evening discussed with their friends about a 'contemporary word village' which would simultaneously function as a test laboratory for the 'Marimekko lifestyle' and 'Mary products' inspired by the Canadian philosopher Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980).[150] In 1962 McLuhan proposed in his book *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* that humans had entered a new information age which enabled them to live in a 'global village' that is not limited to one world or culture.[151] However, Saarikoski tells another version of the story: in the manor house Sköldvik that the Ratia's rented in the early 1960s, Armi and her designer team were supposedly accompanied by the Finnish architect Aarno Ruusuvuori (1925-1992) and the young architects of his architectural office where they discussed about 'the philosophy of living, faults of urban living and ideals'.[152] The significant increase in Marimekko's sales between the years of 1959 and 1960 made it possible to invest money on bigger ideas, one of which was Armi's idea of Marimekko as a way of life.[153] Another bibliographer of Armi, Marja-Leena Parkkinen, on the other hand, suggests that the Mari Village was inspired by the Ivrea village of the Italian typewriter company Olivetti from the 1930s.[154]

Whether the utopian dream of the Mari Village was born inspired by McLuhan or Olivetti or in the interaction between Armi and Aarno Ruusuvuori cannot be fully determined, the concrete plans and drawings for the village were nevertheless made by the Ruusuvuori's office. His studio was admired by the rising generation of Finnish architects, as Ruusuvuori was one of the leading figures of the rationalist

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[148] Huokuna 2006, p. 71 and Heino 2012, p. 114. Originally published in *Anna* (1965) 4. The original quote in Finnish: 'Marimekko on [...] taideteollista muotoilua, finnish design.'
[149] Saarikoski 1986, p. 43.
[150] Ainamo 2003, p. 30.
[151] McLuhan 1962, pp. 28-31.
[152] Saarikoski 1977, p. 111. The manor house Sköldvik was the Ratia's summer accommodation before Bökars. In circa 1962 the Ratias had to leave the building because the Neste oil company, situated next to the property, informed that the building must be demolished due to the company's expansion to the area (Koivuranta et al. 2015, p. 104).
[153] Ibidem, p. 114. According to Saarikoski Marimekko's revenue increased from 82 million Finnish markka in 1959 to 114 million Finnish markka in 1960.
[154] Parkkinen 2005, p. 213.

group of architects that had gathered around since the late 1950s and gained strength during the 1960s. The minimalist aesthetics and restrained architecture that he produced was seen as the forerunner of a cool artistic intellectualism.[155] Ruusuvuori would particularly have been inspired by the works of Le Corbusier, one of the pioneering architects of the 1920s.[156] It would seem like a rather strange choice for a colourful Marimekko to turn to Ruusuvuori's office, but actually the people of Marimekko and Ruusuvuori's office were close to each other; two of Ruusuvuori's architect assistants married Marimekko staff members and in the mid-1960s Ruusuvuori's office was responsible for various projects of the company.[157] Furthermore, Ruusuvuori moved regularly in artistic circles and believed in the cross-disciplinary approach in architecture; otherwise 'architects can easily become professional idiots, understanding nothing outside of their own field.'[158] He was, then, one of the first ones to include design and visual arts in the *Arkkitehti* (Architect) magazine, a special journal for architects which had until then mainly concentrated on architecture, during his editor-in-chief year of the magazine in 1956-1957.[159]

The Mari Village project was launched in 1963 when the 'Marikylä Corporation' was founded.[160] Initially the village which would consist of a housing for 3500 habitants and a factory, was planned for the leasehold property of Bemböle in the northern outskirts of Espoo, 16 kilometers southwest of Helsinki (fig. 47). Although it was almost certain that the lease agreement with Espoo could be arranged, the project failed to gain approval by the Council in 1964. Two years later a new site for the project was found from Porvoo, around 60-70 kilometers east of Helsinki (fig. 48). In 1966 an agreement was signed between the city of Porvoo and Marimekko Corporation according to which the town granted Marimekko a factory site area of about eight hectares and a residential area of circa seven hectares.[161] The press soon covered the event widely. In an interview on July 1967 Armi estimated that the village would be completed by 1970 and described further that 'the Mari Village […] will have 250 houses. The factory itself has an area of 40,000 square meters and it will be built in several stages. [...] First we'll build 6,000 square meters and in the first stage the whole of Marimekko's office,

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155 Pallasmaa 1985, no page numbers.
156 Salokorpi 1970, p. 42.
157 Pallasmaa 1985, no page numbers. One of these projects was the construction of the Marimekko Print Factory.
158 Norri and Kärkkäinen 1992, p. 51. An extract from the interview of Aarno Ruusuvuori, conducted on 3 December in Helsinki.
159 Ibidem, pp. 50-52. Before Ruusuvuori became an editor-in-chief of the *Arkkitehti* magazine, he was journal's assistant editor to Nils Erik Wickberg from 1952 to 1956. During those years Ruusuvuori would have been influenced by Wickberg who was according to his words 'a cross-disciplinary artistic multitalent who followed everything that was going on.' An extract from the interview of Aarno Ruusuvuori, conducted on 3 December in Helsinki.
160 Saarikoski 1977, p. 114 and Nikula 2003, p. 130.
161 Nikula 2003, p. 130 and Saarikoski 1977, p. 116. Viljo Ratia's brother Urpo Ratia was a coalition representative of the town council of Espoo, and furthermore Armi Ratia had joined the Social Democratic Party as a guarantee of support from the other big party on the council. For these reasons the Ratia's were almost certain to attain an approval by the Council. This however failed due resistance from the extreme left-wing Social Democratic People's Party (*Suomen Kansan Demokraattinen Liitto,* SKDL) and because of the confusion over the town planning.

management and dressmaking department will move there.'[162] By the end of the year plans grew even bigger; on the first of December in 1967 it was written that the Mari Village would consist of a factory, shopping center, small-house buildings and apartment buildings.[163]

The first prototype building for the Mari Village, the Experimental House, also known as the 'Marihouse' or 'Blue Submarine' due to its dark blue exterior, was built in 1966 and introduced in the *Arkkitehti* magazine in the same year (fig. 49-52).[164] The 48 square meter house was composed of four prefabricated spatial units of 3 x 4 x 2,40 meters.[165] One of the units formed a 'wet element' with the bathroom and kitchen, and the other three units formed on one side the bedroom, and on the other side the living room, made of two units.[166] In addition the house included a storeroom, broom cupboard and covered entrance terrace. The bearing construction was made with a cell framework with veneers glued to each side and the assembly joints were solely employed in wood constructions. Ruusuvuori emphasized in his description of the house that all details were based on the technique of the supplier factory, and the used tolerance would be very precise, made to within 'one millimeter'.[167] Besides the Experimental House, plans were made for different sized dwellings for the Mari village with 60, 80, 100 and 120 square meters in different variations (fig. 53-55).[168] It also seems that Armi did not intend to leave the Mari Village in Porvoo as one of its kind. In 1967 she stated that 'this village that is to be built in Porvoo will be the first, but it won't be even worth designing it unless more are built. At least ten in Finland and more abroad.'[169]

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[162] Nikula 2003, pp. 130, 132. Originally published in *Uudenmaan Sanomat,* 22 July 1967.

[163] A newspaper clipping from the archives of the Design Museum, Helsinki, with the title 'Marikylän rakentaminen hahmottuu Porvoossa' (The Building of the Mari Village Takes Shape in Porvoo), written by *MR* and published in the *U.S.* on the first of December in 1967. In the short article the village is described in detail. The whole Mari Village would consist of a factory and residential buildings; some of the buildings were planned to be set close to the factory since Marimekko's production process would not cause any smoke or smell. The residential buildings would have been built in different sizes of which the smallest ones were 60 square meters, the biggest 100 square meters (other sources have also mentioned 120 square meters). The biggest residences were characterized by a large combined kitchen and living room, and three courtyards enclosed with fences, set in different sides of the building. In comparison to the drawings seen in the Ruusuvuori archive, this description seems to be quite accurate, although some variations can be spotted. The factory would have had two stores and an open plan which would have enabled the view to the inside the factory from the outdoors. The shopping center was supposed to come underneath the factory.

[164] Tanttu 1968/2012, p. 230 and *Arkkitehti* 1966, p. 116. It is possible that the name 'Blue Submarine' referred to the Beatles' song 'Yellow Submarine' released in 1966, thus on the same year that the first photos of the Experimental house were published. Tuula Saarikoski wrote in 1977 that 'The Blue Submarine (Beatles was in) was a house celebrity already by its birth.' The original text in Finnish: 'The Blue Submarine (Beatles oli pop) oli talojulkkis jo syntyessään.' (Saarikoski 1977, p. 118).

[165] Norri and Kärkkäinen 1992, p. 12 and Nikula 2003, p. 133. The measurements of the Experimental House were well thought beforehand, because the house had to fit behind a truck with which it was transferred to the property of the manor house Bökars (Saarikoski 1977, pp. 117-118).

[166] Nikula 2003, p. 133.

[167] Norri and Kärkkäinen 1992, p. 12.

[168] *Helsingin Sanomat* 12 April 1967, p. 14, Parmann 1967, p. 12 and the drawings in the Ruusuvuori archive at the Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki.

[169] Nikula 2003, p. 119. Originally published in the Finnish newspaper *Uudenmaan Sanomat* on 22 July 1967.

The first inhabitants of the Experimental House were Armi's son Ristomatti, his wife and probably their young daughter who lived in the building for four months.[170] After them the house was inhabited by the Finnish writer Marko Tapio's family.[171] Even though the building was originally meant as a one person dwelling, the interior gives a surprisingly spacious impression even for a small family to live in.[172] With the built-in closets, built-in shelving and small, but well-designed kitchen which also included a built-in ironing board, every square meter was efficiently planned. The *House & Garden* magazine wrote in 1970 that 'even a caravan manufacturer could learn from the concentration and compactness of its interior planning.'[173] The large windows which almost completely pierced the other side of the building, blurred the boundary between the indoors and outdoors, creating an illusion of space. However, the inhabitants experienced the space still to be cramped due to its restricted size and the covered terrace was unusable since it was vulnerable to wind.[174] Armi was unsatisfied with almost everything about the house.[175] Yet Ruusuvuori's minimalistic surroundings offered a great background to Marimekko's strongly coloured and patterned textiles and interior objects as seen in the photos published by the press (fig. 56).

The Mari Village project faced friction from the very beginning. Viljo Ratia had his doubts about its necessity and not all employees were as excited as Armi about the idea of living together as a community.[176] These obstacles nevertheless did not stop her from proceeding with the project. The final blow for the project was the severe economic crisis which Marimekko faced in the late 1960s.[177] The Mari Village was never built which means that the Experimental House remained as an only example of a Mari Village dwelling.[178] Whether the house still exists or not, is unknown.[179]

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[170] Nikula 2003, p. 135, press sources like Me Naiset 1964 and the short interview of Ristomatti Ratia in February 2016 (see appendix). Although many press sources of the time describe that the house was inhabited by these three, according to Ristomatti the house was inhabited only by two persons. It is thus questionable if the child lived in the house as well, since the house was presumably not used for everyday living but more likely occasionally.

[171] Saarikoski 2015, p. 92 and the email correspondence with Tuula Saarikoski on 29 March 2016. According to Saarikoski, Marko Tapio lived together with his wife and son in the building. It is not known how long they inhabited the building.

[172] *Helsingin Sanomat* 12 April 1967, p. 14.

[173] *House & Garden* 1970, p. 48.

[174] Nikula 2003, p. 135 and the short interview of Ristomatti Ratia in February 2016 (see appendix).

[175] *Helsingin Sanomat* 12 April 1967, p. 14 and Parmann 1967, p. 12.

[176] Ratia 1986, p. 29, Donner 1986, p. 9 and Koivuranta et al. 2015, p. 63. In 1986 Viljo Ratia wrote that it was his 'ungrateful task' to function as 'Armi's breaks' when her plans became too ambitious. This was also the case with the Mari Village, which Viljo found too expensive to realize; its only benefit for Marimekko would have been 'the unreasonably expensive advertising value' (Ratia 1986, p. 29).

[177] Donner 1986, p. 10. The continuously and uncontrollably increasing amount of Marimekko products led in the end to a crisis of which first signs became apparent in 1967. At its biggest the amount of products Marimekko produced was 7000, an amount which caused troubles in sell. The company was dangerously heading into a bankruptcy within a couple of years if no changes were made. In 1968 the company went through a debt restructuring, and a quarter of the employees were dismissed (Aav, Kivilinna, Viljanen 2011, p. 77).

[178] In 1968 Ruusuvuori designed also a 'Marisauna', a sauna building built with Marimekko aesthetics. The sauna was however offered separately from the Mari Village, and is therefore not counted as a component of the village (Nikula 2003, pp. 136).

[179] In email correspondence with Tuula Saarikoski on 29 March 2016 the author was told that during the 1970s the Experimental House was treated as one of the guesthouses of Bökars. It is however unclear whether this

3.3. The Stage of Marimekko: The Manor House Bökars

Only one year before the Mari Village project was officially launched, Armi and Viljo Ratia were looking for a new summer accommodation. In the village Gäddrag, near the city of Porvoo that is circa 60-70 kilometers east of Helsinki, they stumbled upon the manor house Bökars (fig. 57).[180] The old wooden, ochre-yellow two-story main building was built in 1930-35 according to the drawings of the Finnish architect Birger Lindqvist for the retirement days of the Finnish counsellor Einar Ahlman (1872-1937).[181] Its exterior shows evident influences of rural classicism: the geometric simplicity of the building, the accents painted in white and especially the pediment-like structure above the entrance which is as if supported by columns, are typical elements which were taken over from the classical architecture to the Finnish domestic dwellings (fig. 7).[182] In 1962 the Ratia's rented the building, and after two years they bought it from the heirs of Ahlman in 1964. The estate included besides the main building an old cow barn, drying barn, granary cabin, gazebo, windmill and a boathouse which was later transformed into a sauna (fig. 58-62).[183] The wooden outbuildings were painted with earth-red or had naturally developed a weathered-gray colour in the course of time.[184] Later Armi brought several pieces of her childhood Karelia to Bökars like her great-grandfather's log house *Siikavaara* which was moved beam by beam to the courtyard of Bökars from Pamilonkoski, Karelia (fig. 63).[185]

After its purchase, the manor house Bökars developed into Marimekko's representation and education space, and as a stage of the company's commercial photo shoots (fig. 64-67).[186] Yet the building is best remembered as a place of unforgettable feasts to which guests from Finland and abroad took part in the 1960s and 1970s. During these two decennia the building was visited by the journalist of American Vogue Kaye Hayes, American architect Richard Buckminster Fuller, members of the English rock band The Who, Finnish pianist Cyril Szalkiewicz and Finnish President Urho Kekkonen to name a few. The guests who were brought to the estate with a car, bus or even a helicopter, were entertained by themed dinners, dancing sessions and masquerades organized by Armi (fig. 68-69).[187] From the outbuildings one was converted into a playhouse, the cow barn into a big dinner room and

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house still exists; all interviewees answered that they had no idea about the building's current condition. The current owner of the Bökars estate, the Amers Sport, did not respond to author's emails.

[180] Tirkkonen 1999, p. 109.

[181] Email correspondence with Milla Asikainen, the communications manager of Marimekko in February 2016 (see appendix). The actual title of Einar Ahlman is *vuorineuvos* (literally "mountain counsellor") which is an honorary title granted for lifetime by the President of Finland for persons with remarkable merits in industry.

[182] Miller 1982, p. 16. For more about Nordic Classicism in Finnish architecture, both in monumental and domestic buildings, see the chapter 'The classicism of the 1920s' in Malcolm Quantrill, *Finnish Architecture and the Modernist Tradition*, London 1995.

[183] Tirkkonen 1999, p. 109, Koivuranta et al. 2015, p. 104 and Tanttu 1968/2012, p. 146. There is unclarity of the exact year when the Ratias bought the manor house; some literary sources state that this happened in 1963, but according to Marimekko's PR the correct year is 1964.

[184] Gaynor 1995, p. 84.

[185] Ibidem, p. 109 and an invitation of Marimekko, printed in 1977, coll. Design Museum Helsinki.

[186] Aav, Kivilinna, Viljanen 2011, pp. 57-58 and Tirkkonen 1999, p. 109.

[187] Koivuranta et al. 2015, p. 105.

windmill into a guest room (fig. 70-71).[188] The surroundings were decorated with Marimekko fabrics and products, and further with dozens of candles, stones, flowers and hay (fig. 72-75).[189] The picture was completed when both staff and guests were equally dressed in the same, striped Marimekko clothes.[190] It is little surprising, then, that many old employees and regular visitors of Marimekko have later described Bökars as coulisses.[191] In 1964 the journalist of the *Me Naiset* magazine, for instance, described her journey at the building: 'When Armi says "come visit us someday – come on next Tuesday for instance" […], and you go […] and your highest expectation is to have a hastily served cup of coffee […]. Instead, you will be faced with a heartfeltly and deliciously prepared buffet table and a collection of hand-picked, interesting people – *everything carefully set in a script and beautiful decor*.'[192] Armi, who was known for her 'Karelian hospitality', made sure that each guest could feel themselves comfortable by planning everything carefully out, down to the smallest detail; candles, table cloths and even the served food had to follow the same colour scheme for instance (fig. 76).[193] The atmosphere of Bökars can slightly be felt in Tuula Saarikoski description of the visit of the European foreign ministers and their wives in the house in 1977:

"The birch trees were at their most beautiful. The weather has been steadily sunny, no rain is expected. The lunch will be eaten outside, in the shade of the birch trees on the grass. The black-and-white pattern of the tablecloths repeats the fair black-and-white pattern of the birch barks. White chairs. Waitresses in long, black-and-white aprons. A twelve meters long Karelian buffet table on the grass. In the house the clean, unpainted wooden floor spreads a scent. The rooms are decorated with cow parsley and hay. White roses. A musical ensemble plays polka and jenkka music dressed in national costumes. Models with bare feet and clean faces on a sand road. The Finnish hospitality and a 'real rural lushness' inspirits the foreign women to dance on their bare feet and play after the lunch, and the foreign ministers rubbed their hands satisfied."[194]

The carefree atmosphere of Bökars created its fame as 'a must place' which everybody wanted to visit or get invited to. The shared dinners, festivities and sauna evenings brought people closer together, and

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[188] Gaynor 1995, pp. 84-86.
[189] Aav, Kivilinna, Viljanen 2011, pp. 57-58.
[190] Sassi 1964, pp. 56.
[191] For example, Saarikoski wrote in 2015 that 'The manor house Bökars was in its totality a coulisse, perhaps meant as coulisse from the beginning, that was properly, carefully done.' The original quote in Finnish: 'Bökarsin kartanotila oli kokonaisuudessaan kulissi, alusta asti ehkä kulissiksi aiottukin, mutta kunniallisesti, huolellisesti tehty.' (Saarikoski 2015, p. 99). See also the short interview of Ristomatti Ratia (appendix).
[192] Sassi 1964, pp. 52-53. Italicization not original part of the quote, but edited by the author. The original quote in Finnish: 'Kun Armi sanoo että "tulkaa joku päivä käymään – tulkaa vaikka ensi tiistaina" [...] ja te menette [...] ja odotatte korkeintaan tavanomaista kahvikupillista, sivumennen kiireen keskeltä tarjoiltuna [...]. Sen sijaan teillä on vastassanne hartaasti valmisteltu herkullinen pitopöytä ja kokoelma käsinvalittuja, mielenkiintoisia ihmisiä – kaikki huolellisesti suunniteltuun käsikirjoitukseen ja upeaan lavastukseen sijoitettuna.'
[193] Sassi 1964, p. 53.
[194] Saarikoski 1977, p. 72.

important friendships were tied.[195] Sometimes the building was so full with visitors that Armi struggled to find herself a place to sleep in.[196] No wonder that one of the regular visitors of Bökars, Finnish actor Tarmo Manni, described the house in 1991 as 'a renaissance house' and continued: 'Such [house] has never been in Finland and won't be anymore. […] It is a house of which the ministry of foreign affairs should still be obliged to pay retroactively. There [in Bökar] the press of the whole world has been accommodated.'[197] After the death of Armi in 1979 the festivities in Bökars quieted down. In 1991 the estate was purchased by the Finnish sporting goods company Amer (nowadays Amer Sports) in connection with the sale of Marimekko.[198]

[195] Tirkkonen 1999, p. 114.

[196] According to Tirkkonen, during the busiest summers Bökars was visited by over three thousand guests; the bigger festivities had around two hundred guests (Tirkkonen 1999, p. 110).

[197] Lindstedt 1991, p. 22. The original Finnish quote: 'Mikä renesanssitalo. Ei semmoista Suomessa ole ollut eikä tule olemaan. [...] Sehän on talo, josta ulkoministeriö olisi vieläkin velvollinen taannehtivasti maksamaan. Siellä piti majaa koko maailman lehdistö.'

[198] Aav, Kivilinna, Viljanen 2011, pp. 55-56 and Koivuranta et al. 2015, p. 103.

IV. Karelian Feasts and Utopian Dreams: A Reflection On Marimekko Lifestyle and Its Manifestation in Two 'Mary Houses'

4.1. What is Marimekko Lifestyle?

In this thesis it has been mentioned a couple of times that Armi was striving towards the creation of Marimekko lifestyle which she named as 'Modern Living'. Yet it is rarely clearly explained what she meant with these. What was according to her Marimekko lifestyle or modern living, and from what kind of elements were they constructed?

Before going any further with these questions, the ambiguous term 'lifestyle' has to be tackled down. According to a general definition 'lifestyle' is 'the way in which a person lives' or 'someone's way of living; the things that a person or a particular group of people usually do.'[199] In the sociological studies this concept is many times defined as a material expression of the individual's identity.[200] 'The material expression' is then understood as consumption which shapes consumer's identity: French sociologist Jean Baudrillard, for example, uses the concept *homo economicus* to describe an individual who creates his or her own meaning, identity, through the process of consumption.[201] The English sociologist Anthony Giddens, in contrast, sees that lifestyle does not only exist within the area of consumption but in other areas of life as well; lifestyle is a construction of daily choices which determine our 'routinised practices' like which clothes we prefer to wear or what kind of food to eat. 'All such choices […] are decisions not only about how to act but how to be.'[202]

In circa 1962 it was pondered in the Finnish newspaper *Savon Sanomat* that Marimekko dresses are bought because of the lifestyle that they represent.[203] What made Marimekko dresses so different and so appealing for the customers, was especially their loose-fitting design and the brightly coloured, artistically made patterns. With these two elements Armi aimed 'to free women from the chore of fashion' – the fashion that was too hierarchical and superficial, based on the rules set by the fashion capital Paris.[204] If fashionable dresses of the time were tight and fitting, Marimekko made wide dresses

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[199] Retrieved from the Oxford Dictionaries and Cambridge Dictionaries Online:
http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/lifestyle and
http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/lifestyle on 01 May 2016.
[200] Wilska 2002, p. 197.
[201] Baudrillard 1970/1988, pp. 29-56.
[202] Giddens 1991, p. 81.
[203] A newspaper clipping *Savon Sanomat,* n.d. (c. 1962). It was written that '[…] Armi Ratia does not only sell cotton dresses, but a certain kind of idea, a lifestyle and she sells it with a quite expensive price. Marimekko dresses are not bought because they are cheap but because they represent a certain kind of lifestyle […].' The original Finnish quote: '[…] Armi Ratia ei suinkaan myy pelkästään "pumpulileninkejä", vaan määrätynlaista ideaa, elämäntyyliä ja hän myy sitä melko kalliilla hinnalla. Ei marimekkoja osteta sen vuoksi, että ne ovat halpoja vaan siksi, että ne edustavat erästä elämäntapaa [...].'
[204] *Woman and Home* 1967, no page number, Turunen 2002, p. 69. The Marimekko's attitude towards fashion is described in *Hopeapeili* in 1967: 'For years Ánnika Piha hasn't received any fashion magazines, and she quietly laughs at and by herself that Paris will inform when which colour is right now in fashion. Why does Paris lie?' The original Finnish quote: 'Vuosiin ei Annika Pihalle ole tullut yhtään muotilehteä, ja hän nauraa hiljaa ja itsekseen sille, että Pariisi ilmoittaa milloin minkin värin olevan nyt juuri muodissa. Miksi Pariisi valehtelee?' (Sarje 1986, p. 52).

that everyone could comfortably wear regardless the occasion, age or the body shape of the wearer (fig. 77-79).[205] Marimekko's designer Anna Piha told in 1967 that 'the dress can't be a straitjacket […] the one inside the dress must have a freedom of action' and 'I have never created clothes for mannequins. Nor for any certain circumstances.'[206] By freeing the wearer from the limits set by the clothing, Marimekko created dresses that served its carrier and not the other way round. In regard to fabrics Armi refused to create flower prints because 'everybody else does them too' – Marimekko had to stand out from the others.[207] According to Viljo Ratia Marimekko's artistic prints were so different in comparison to the rest that competitors did not even consider copying them.[208] A look at the fabric *Tibet* by Vuokko Eskolin illustrates how different Marimekko was with their large-scaled prints that were more like a piece of artwork than fabric design (fig. 31-32).

The customers that bought these dresses were according to the Finnish newspaper *Liitto* 'contemporary women […] who have no time to run to a dressmaker. Especially women who want to forget their clothes and devote themselves to other things, to their children and home and to their career and different hobbies. Yet they do not want to forget the aesthetic values.'[209] The Norwegian *Norsk Dameblad* described 'Finnish Mary' as 'independent, proud and strongly conscious about her value as a woman.'[210] In the United States Marimekko dresses were titled by the fashion critic Eugenia Sheppard as 'a uniform for intellectuals' which were worn by architects, designers, professors and their wives.[211] Also the Danish newspaper *Morgonbladet* shaped an educated image of the Marimekko customers: 'The Mary girl understands modern design, poetry, abstract art and progressive jazz.'[212] Yet at the same time the stay-at-home mom was still largely an ideal during the 1960s (fig. 80).[213] By following Giddens' theory, Marimekko offered these women other choice: in their dresses they could be perceived as an educated, contemporary individual who combines the career with domestic life and understands the meaning of beauty in her everyday life. [214] Interesting is also that in Finland Marimekko's clothes were not only seen on young women but also on older women, children and men – and sometimes on a

[205] Sarje 1986, pp. 48-49.
[206] Ibidem, pp. 48-49. Originally published in *Hopeapeili* (1967) 8. The original Finnish quotes: 'Leninki ei saa olla pakkopaita, jossa ei voi tehdä kuin määrätynlaisen liikkeen. Puvun sisässä olevalla pitää olla toimintavapaus.' and '[...] en ole koskaan luonut vaatteita mannekiineja varten. Enkä mihinkään tiettyihin olosuhteisiin.'
[207] Ratia 1986, p. 23. The print *Unikko* is an exception which was created by the Marimekko designer Maija Isola as a protest against Armi's principle in 1964.
[208] Ibidem, p. 23.
[209] Sarje 1986, p. 48. The original quote in Finnish, published in 1964: 'Marimekko […] palvelee pukeutumisen alueella nykyaikaisia naisia, joilla ei ole aikaa juosta ompelijalla. Etenkin naisia, jotka haluavat unohtaa vaatteensa ja omistautua moniin muihin asioihin, lapsilleen ja kodilleen sekä elämänuraansa ja harrastuksiin. Kuitenkaan he eivät halua unohtaa esteettisiä arvoja.'
[210] Ibidem, p. 56. Originally published in *Norsk Dameblad* on 7 December 1960.
[211] Thompson and Lange 2010, p. 87. Originally published in *New York Herald Tribune* in 1963.
[212] Ibidem, p. 56. Originally published in *Morgonbladet* 3 March 1965.
[213] Heino 2012, p. 107. Heino notes that in comparison to the 1950s the gender roles were becoming less rigid during the 1960s in Finland. However, this does not mean that women were completely freed from the housewife ideal.
[214] Ibidem, pp. 110-118.

whole family (fig. 81-84). The striped and dotted clothes, especially *Jokapojan paita* (Every Boy's Shirt) and *Tasaraita* (Even-Striped), represented unisex aesthetics which could be worn by everyone (fig. 85).[215] Finnish artist Kimmo Sarje describes that Marimekko developed into a 'non-uniform', 'Maryform', which was both different and equal, individual and universal, national and international.[216]

The family ideology continued in the representation of the 'Marimekko living environment'. In the press 'Mary people' were represented as family-oriented individuals who love cooking, planning parties for friends and decorating their homes.[217] However, the families that were presented consisted of young adults with their children. Finnish ethnologist Arja Turunen who in 2002 interviewed two generations of Marimekko clients, born between 1920-30 and 1940-50, noticed that the older generation associated Marimekko generally with cotton dresses while the younger interviewees, who were around their twenties during the 1960s, described to have had 'Marimekko homes' fully decorated with the company's products and family members dressed in their clothes.[218] Besides the young families, the interior products were targeted to young adults and couples: in 1967 the article 'The Young Strive For Happy Living' shows a young couple with Marimekko's *Unikko* print in the background, and the commercial of the interior store *Talli Skanno*, a store for the youth as the text says, featured a young woman on a couch upholstered in the *Unikko* fabric (fig. 86-87). Both were published in the *Kaunis koti* magazine like many other 'Marimekko homes' were. The common theme of these homes is that they represented 'happy and fun living' with colourful, manageable, contemporary environment, and their inhabitants were often educated as artists, graphic designers or in other occupation in a creative industry. Their homes fitted well in *Kaunis koti* magazine which was established to enlighten and educate individuals on a good taste that was mostly found from the design world: the magazine introduced regularly the new production of Finnish designers like Tapio Wirkkala and Timo Sarpaneva, and took a look at their homes. More importantly, *Kaunis koti* was established as an initiate of the Finnish Society of Crafts and Design and was edited by renowned Finnish architects and designers such as J.S. Sirén and Ilmari Tapiovaara among others.[219] In such magazine Marimekko became as an example of 'a good taste' and its position as contemporary 'Finnish design' and 'applied arts' was strengthened. The Finnish journalist Ritva Sievänen states in *Kaunis koti* in 1964 that Marimekko is distinguishably Finnish, but only individuals who know and appreciate applied arts can truly understand and recognize Marimekko.[220] Just like Eugenia Sheppard she identified Marimekko with intellectuals, which echoes an elitist character of the company's clients.

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[215] The *Jokapoika* was designed by Vuokko Eskolin in 1956 and the *Tasaraita* by Annika Rimala in 1968.
[216] Sarje 1986, p. 49.
[217] Ibidem, p. 54.
[218] Turunen 2002, pp. 36-37, 47, 52.
[219] Svenskberg 2012, pp. 97-102.
[220] Heino 2012, p. 113. Originally published in *Kaunis koti* (1964) 3.

The common pattern of the Marimekko fashion editorials is the combination of a generally very mundane environment, people and the company's products together.[221] In comparison to contemporary fashion editorials, Marimekko's models were mostly their employees or Armi's friends, not mannequins, with no trendy hair-do's or make-up moving and jumping in an environment instead of posing stiffly (fig. 88-90). Sometimes the advertised object, the Marimekko cloth, seemed to come in a second place – the atmosphere of the pictures was more important.[222] Through these methods Marimekko represented a larger idea than just clothes; it became a community which shared a joyful, unpretentious and carefree attitude towards life. The press used regularly terms such as 'Mary people', 'Mary fun' and 'Mary world'.[223] Armi's personal relationship with the designers and a sense of community shared by them is repeatedly mentioned in the contemporary and later published interviews, articles and publication on the company. In the 1960s the Finnish newspaper *Ylä-Vuoksi* wrote for example that 'in [Marimekko's] factory […] employees are as if one big family.'[224] The sense of community and equality that was already shared in Armi's childhood homes in Pälkjärvi and Koivisto, was recreated by Armi in Marimekko both in its working environment and in the marketing of its products.

Marimekko and the way how it became 'a lifestyle' is a result of multiple elements that often contradicted with each other. Firstly, Marimekko began as a fabric and clothing design factory which did not identify itself with fashion, but applied arts and 'Finnish design' instead. Its dissociation from the fashion world attracted certain kind of clients: designers, artists, architects and professors who embraced Marimekko as their own. Marimekko's clothes pushed boundaries with its avant-garde like mindset of fashion, thus their wearers could also be identified as such, avant-gardists or 'intellectuals'. Yet, Marimekko did not represent itself as a company exclusively for them. Their photo shoots, catwalk shows and design ideology for clothes signaled that Marimekko is for *everyone*, no matter their client's size, age, occupation, social status or even gender. Especially women were uplifted in 'Marimekko's world' from a housewife role to an active, independent and educated woman, freed from traditional womanliness.[225] According to Sarje the sense of equality originated from Armi's social democratic beliefs which ultimately constructed the basics of the Marimekko ideology: freedom, equality, practicality, optimism and happiness.[226] Now a question remains how did this ideology manifest itself in the Marimekko's living environment.

[221] Aakula et al. 1999, p. 63.
[222] Wiikeri, pp. 35, 40.
[223] Press sources such as *Hopeapeili* 1964, p. 84 and *Karjala* on 2 November 1967.
[224] A newspaper clipping of *Ylä-Vuoksi,* 1960s, no page number. The original quote in Finnish: 'Sen [Marimekon] tehtaassa [...] työntekijät ovat kuin yhtä suurta perhettä.'
[225] Heino 2012, p. 114.
[226] Sarje 1986, p. 50.

4.2. The Manifestation of the Marimekko Lifestyle in Two 'Mary Houses'

In the 1960s Marimekko had created two 'homes': the manor house Bökars that the Ratia's first rented in 1962, then purchased in 1964, and the Experimental House, planned since 1963 and executed in 1966. Not so many years apart from each other, Marimekko had put its stamp on two living environments. Yet the difference in their visual looks is striking – even so much that it is hard to belief that these contrasting houses both represented the same company.

The Finnish art historian Kirsi Saarikangas defines 'home' as a layered construction in which its designer and inhabitants, present and past, ideologies and practicalities meet. Both a dwelling and home can be inhabited, but what separates home from a dwelling is its social dimension: a building is not only an architectural and material structure, but also a social space in which people interact and create its meaning. Furthermore, a home is not limited by its physical boundaries but is connected through its inhabitants to the surrounding world. A home is a dynamic, open space which meaning is shaped by its usage, communication and social relationships that reach outside its boundaries.[227] The same elements can be recognized in both 'Mary Houses', the manor house Bökars and the Experimental House.

Aarno Ruusuvuori's Experimental House was created in the period that 'the spirit of modular prefabrication was in the air in Finland'.[228] The roots of this spirit lie probably in the two massive waves of migration, first from the ceded areas as a consequence of the Second World War, and secondly from countryside to the cities during the 1960s, which forced Finnish architects to develop a system that enabled them to create buildings at a fast pace. In the 1950s Finnish architects Viljo Revell (1910-1964) and Aarne Ervi (1910-1977) explored the possibilities of prefabrication of houses, and Aulis Blomstedt (1906-1979) dedicated himself to the research on modular patterns and the challenge of mass production of buildings.[229] Inspired by these architects, among others, the prefabrication of houses was further experimented in the 1960s. In 1966 Ruusuvuori's project was published in an issue of the *Arkkitehti* magazine that was entirely devoted to compact single-family building. In this issue it was pleaded to continue the discussion of small-house settlements and their social and economic matters that had just barely begun. It was deeply believed that by designing single houses as parts of a bigger system – like Ruusuvuori designed the Experimental House as a part of the larger whole of the Mari Village – a new kind of harmonious surrounding could be achieved.[230] The readers of the *Kaunis koti* magazine were also in 1966 informed about the new form of living, the 'collective houses', with which a social living milieu could be created; only not many successful examples of such environments had been created until then and the prefabrication of houses was still in its infancy.[231] This ideal of a social environment

[227] Saarikangas 2002, pp. 17-18.
[228] Quantrill 1995, p. 144.
[229] Salokorpi 1970, pp. 41-42, Mäkelä 2014, p. 276 and Connah 2005, pp. 147-151.
[230] Nikula 2003, pp. 142-143 and *Arkkitehti* 1966, pp. II-III.
[231] *Kaunis koti* 1966, pp. 15, 46 and Maunula 1966, p. 46.

and collective living partly explains the contemporary hype for the modular prefabrication in Finland: after Ruusuvuori's Experimental House many similar kind of plans were made, like the summer house system *Moduli 255* by architects Kristian Gullichsen and Juhani Pallasmaa in 1968-72 (fig. 87).[232]

Although Nikula argues that Experimental House represented Ruusuvuori's objective and clear architecture which has no visual references to European architectural history, the building seemingly embodied the past.[233] The matchbox-like shape of the building, the flat roof and the large windows which pierced almost the whole other side of the building, reminds one of the houses of the Modern Movement (fig. 14-15). Moreover, the idea of a 'minimum dwelling', as Ruusuvuori described the Experimental House himself, is a concept which coined for the first time during the 1920s.[234] The houses like the ones exhibited in the *Weissenhofsiedlung* were compact, functional, contained only the necessities and included often multi-purpose solutions for human activities, and fulfilled so the space standards of the 'existence-minimum' – the concept for creating as many functions as possible for a limited area. A good example of a space which met these criteria, is the-laboratory like kitchen *Frankfurter Küche* (The Frankfurt Kitchen) designed by the architect Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky in 1926, which maximized functionality with practicality with its immense amount of storage place (fig. 88-89).[235] In a similar way the Experimental House had a clear plan in which each room had its distinctive function and the practical solutions were maximized; for example, its kitchen did not only contain carefully planned storage for the utensils but also multiple functions from cooking to ironing clothes (fig. 90-92). Some Ruusuvuori's drawings in the archive of the Museum of Finnish Architecture in Helsinki reveal that he carefully planned different 'frames' for each human activity which are reduced to simple basic elements (fig. 93-94).[236] Furthermore, the interior of the Experimental House was furnished with simple, minimalistic furniture of which some are recognizable as ones designed by Finnish architect and designer Alvar Aalto for Artek in the 1930s (fig. 95-96). Aalto's furniture of bent plywood and the Finnish furniture company Artek, established in 1935, are known for their progressive, modern design and its promotion in Finland. The presence of these furniture underlines the modern appearance of the building even further. Surprising is also the immense contrast in the way how the building was presented in the press, also noticed by the Finnish art historian Nikula: on the one hand as a colourful, light and vivid whole, on the other hand as sober and minimalistic building (fig. 97-98).[237] Although the building's interior was quite colourful when it included Marimekko's textiles and interior products, the black-and-white pictures of the Experimental House make it hardly recognizable as a creation of the 1960s.

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[232] Mäkelä 2014, p. 276.
[233] Nikula 2003, p. 145.
[234] *Arkkitehti* 1966, p. 116.
[235] Frampton 2001, p. 172.
[236] It is not clear whether these drawings were made for the Mari Village or not since they do not contain any description. Nevertheless, this document was set in a map together with the drawings for the Mari Village.
[237] Nikula 2003, p. 133.

The simple, straight lines and almost sober architecture of the Experimental House matches with the Marimekko dresses of the same decade. Sarje compares for example the dress designs of Marimekko's designer Annika Piha from 1967 with the minimalistic and constructive artworks of the American artists Barnett Newman and Carl Andre (fig. 99-100).[238] Also Finnish art historian Marianne Aav has noticed the visual similarity between the company's dresses of the 1960s and modern architecture.[239] This idea is not farfetched since Armi compared clothes quite often with architecture; in 1967, for instance, she stated that 'clothes are our first milieu.'[240] Even more precisely she talked about the connection between clothes and architecture while telling the press about the Mari Village project earlier in the same year: 'I've always hated unnecessary tucks, pleats and buttons on clothes. In the same way, houses can be made simpler.'[241] However, it is not only the apparent elements of the Experimental House that fit with the 1920s avant-garde architecture or Marimekko's dresses of the same decade, but also its social ideology that it represents: the mass production of similar houses, as planned, would have offered an equal frame to the 'Mary people' around the world if the Mari Village project was realized in the way that Armi hoped for.[242] Yet the Experimental House failed to fully satisfy Armi's expectations. In her letter to architect Ruusuvuori, Armi defined her idea of the Mari Village with the following words:

"When the idea of the Mari Village was born, for me it was not about houses, but LIVING, a village of services, where with different mechanical, architectonical, technical and totally new means it is pursued to first research, map and support with all kind of solutions the human being's 24 hours, seven-day-long week including the free time, a whole year and why not their whole life in order to help [them] by at least creating a framework. The SERVICE was the backbone of the village. […] I did not want status houses or a status village, but a human, honest, helpful environment in which a child and an elder can meet, and in which work and play happens under the same heading, thus the loveliness and misery of the human life."[243]

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[238] Sarje 1986, p. 50.

[239] Aav, Kivilinna, Viljanen 2011, p. 6. Aav wrote that 'the clear, large patterned prints of the printed fabrics fitted well with the contemporary modern architecture, while at the same time one could see a confluence of the body-covering lines of the Marimekko's clothes and the protecting function of architecture.' The original quote in Finnish: 'Painokankaiden selkeät suurikuvioiset kuosit istuivat aikakauden modernistiseen arkkitehtuuriin, samalla Marimekon vaatteiden vartaloa muotoja hyvin peittävissä linjoissa nähtiin yhtymäkohtia arkkitehtuurin suojaavaan funktioon.'

[240] Parmann 1967, p. 12. An interview of Armi Ratia originally published in the Norwegian newspaper *Morgenbladet*. The original Norwegian quote: 'La oss begynne med vårt første miljø, klærne [...]' In English: 'Let us begin with our first milieu, clothes […].'

[241] Nikula 2003, p. 119. Originally published in the newspaper *Uudenmaan Sanomat* on 22 July 1967.

[242] See p. 28, the last sentence of the second paragraph in the page.

[243] Tanttu 1968/2012, p. 99. The original quote in Finnish: 'Kun ajatus Marikylästä syntyi, niin minun mielestäni ei ollut kysymys taloista, vaan ASUMISESTA, palvelukylästä, jossa erilaisin mekaanisin, arkkitehtonisin, teknisin ja aivan uusin keinoin pyritään ihmisen 24 tuntia, 7-päiväinen viikko vapaa-aikoineen, koko vuosi ja miksei koko elämä ensin tutkimaan, kartoittamaan ja kaikenlaisin ratkaisuin auttamaan ainakin luomalla puitteet. PALVELU oli kylän selkäranka. [...] En halunnut status-taloja enkä status-kylää, vaan

In other words, for Armi the Mari Village was not per se a physical construction, but psychological which would, among others, support individuals by improving their living conditions through research and create communities by bringing the play and work together. In 1967 Armi noted in an interview that 'good architecture creates harmonious and happy people, people who get power and joy to "fight" against all serious problems that we cannot escape from.'[244] In Viljo's words 'Armi saw ahead of her an idyllic village community which would be dominated by the spirit of social cohesion […] The village would be very functional and on the one hand old-fashioned, on the other hand very modern. Warm-hearted in any case.'[245] Armi wanted a structure which served people like Marimekko's clothes served its carriers, not 'walls and doors' as architects had interpreted it.[246]

Retrospectively, the kind of living that Armi hoped to create with the Mari Village was arguably already present in Bökars, although the buildings in the estate were never purposely made or shaped for this purpose. As mentioned before, the main building has its origins in the 1930s and when it was rented by the Ratias, they initially intended to use it as a summer accommodation. In the course of time the manor house Bökars and its surrounding buildings developed into a large stage in which Marimekko almost became a theatrical play – or a new world – that was thoroughly planned and dressed up in Marimekko products. In this world work and play existed quite literally next to each other; according to Viljo 'the milieu [of Bökars] offered possibilities for both work and relaxation', but 'in practice it was difficult to draw a line between private and Marimekko guests.'[247]

The idyllic and playful atmosphere of the manor house Bökars has been compared with the water colour paintings of the Swedish artist Carl Larsson of his own home. A direct reference is made in the December issue of the *Hopeapeili* magazine in 1964 in which Larsson's painting *Christmas Eve* (1904-05) is set next to the photograph of the Ratia's in the Christmas dinner that is seemingly inspired by the latter (fig. 104-105). Although there is until now no known evidence which would prove Armi to have directly been influenced by Carl Larsson's artworks, there are nevertheless many similarities in the interior decoration and the way of living that was represented in Bökars and Larsson's home. Ellen

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inhimillisen, rehellisen, auttavan ympäristön, jossa lapsi ja vanhus kohtaavat, työ ja leikki tapahtuvat saman otsakkeen alla, eli ihmiselämän ihanuus ja kurjuus.' The date of this letter is unknown.

[244] Parmann 1967, p. 12. The Original Norwegian quote: 'God arkitektur skaper harmoniske og lykkelige mennesker, mennesker som får krefter og glede till å "fighte" alle de alvorlige problemer vi allikevel ikke kan flykte fra.'

[245] Ratia 1986, p. 29. Original Finnish quote: 'Armi näki edessään idyllisen kyläyhteisön, missä vallitsi yhteenkuuluvuuden henki [...]. Kylä olisi hyvin toimiva, toisaalta vanhanaikainen, toisaalta hyvin moderni. Lämminhenkinen joka tapauksessa.'

[246] The short interview of Ristomatti Ratia in February 2016 (see appendix).

[247] Ratia 1986, p. 28. Here, Viljo wrote '[...] when Marimekko gained the manor house Bökars in its use, it was visited besides the normal business partners also by different culture people from home and abroad […] in practice it was difficult to draw a line between private and Marimekko guests […] The Marimekko's manor house milieu offered possibilities for both work and relaxation'. The original quote in Finnish: '[…] kun Bökarsin kartano oli saatu Marimekon käyttöön, alkoi siellä vierailla, paitsi normaaleja liikeystäviä, myös erilaisia kulttuuri-ihmisiä sekä kotimaasta että ulkomailta. [...] käytännössä oli vaikeaa vetää raja yksityisten ja Marimekon vieraiden välille. [...] Marimekon kartanomiljöö tarjosi mahdollisuudet sekä työhön että rentoutumiseen.'

Key, who admired Larsson's home, wrote in 1913 that 'the furniture in his home is only of the simplest kind: wooden beds, wooden chairs, and wooden tables. In one room they are painted green; then the ceiling in that room is also painted green [...]. In another room the walls are completely white and all of the furniture white.'[248] These elements created an atmosphere which 'exudes sheer hominess, airy freshness, and joy of colour'.[249] If the photo's made inside the manor house Bökars are set next to some of Larsson's paintings, the similarities between them are eye-catching (fig. 106-109). Both Larsson's home and Bökar's interior feature romantic and light atmosphere created by fresh flowers and wooden furniture of 'honest materials'. Key also emphasized that the colour schemes of Larsson's interiors fit together with the furniture of the room; in Bökars the colourful guest rooms were brown, yellow, red, white and blue, and the interior decoration of each room followed the colour scheme indicated by the wall colour (fig. 110-115).

Larsson's paintings depicted not only his own home but also his family's idealized life that was 'plain and unpretentious, close to the soil and to local traditions'.[250]Also this fitted in Ellen Key's definition of the ideal home: 'A room does not have a soul until someone's soul is revealed in it, until it shows us what someone remembers and loves, and how this person lives and works every day.'[251] 'The beautiful', as defined by her, is after all partly constructed from the expression of the soul of its user or creator.[252] Larsson's home had these elements since it was created 'by inspired whim, in festive moments, through joyful efforts.'[253] In his paintings such as *A Day of Celebration* (1899) children play masquerade and in *Breakfast in the open* (1913) music is played and dinner is served outside by the birch trees (fig. 116-117). In the same sense the manor house Bökars was a place in which the work intertwined with the play and where festive moments were celebrated: food was eaten outside and musicians were invited to play music while Marimekko employees and guests were dancing and rejoicing together (fig. 118-121). One of the highlights was Armi's birthday which was feasted many times in Bökars. It does not feel impossible to think that Armi's need to create such a social, homey environment filled with festivities was influenced by Larsson's paintings. Sarje has as well noticed that Armi must have admired the family idyll that is represented in many of his paintings; the fact that the photo of the Ratia's Christmas dinner was arranged based on Larsson's painting *Christmas Eve* (1904-05) would prove this.[254] If this is true, it would also explain the surprising similarity between Armi on her birthday in circa 1979 and the girl who is carrying flowers dressed in white dress in Larsson's

[248] Key 1913/2008, p. 42.
[249] Ibidem, p. 42.
[250] Lane 2008, p. 23.
[251] Key 1913/2008, p. 35.
[252] Lane 2008, p.19. Ellen Key defined 'the beautiful' as something that is practical, useful, informed by its purpose and expressive of the soul of its user or creator.
[253] Key 1913/2008, p. 42.
[254] Sarje 1986, p. 54.

painting *A Day of Celebration* (1899) (fig. 122-123).[255] Another striking element is the similarity between the maids in Larsson's paintings and the 'Marimekko maids'. These Marimekko maids, who were presumably company's employees seen in the company's photo shoots among others, were presented dressed in a long, black dress and a long white or striped apron that appeared rather old-fashioned for the time (fig. 124-127). Could it be that Armi purposely aimed to create a similar kind of atmosphere than in Larsson's paintings through, among others, dressing herself and other people in a manner of a play? Was this atmosphere the base of her idealized Marimekko lifestyle? It is difficult to answer these questions, but nevertheless, her more or less visible admiration towards Larsson made Bökars and its surroundings to match surprisingly well with Ellen Key's definition of an ideal home created in the late nineteenth century.

When looking back both at the manor house Bökars and the Experimental House, the following question arises: how can it be that these two seemingly different spaces were created by the same company? On the one hand there was a traditional Finnish manor house of a simple rustic classicism, on the other hand there was a minimalistic and sober dwelling. The manor house Bökars was not only stylistically a total opposite of the minimalistic Experimental House, but also from the plans that Armi had for the Mari Village. The wooden house of Bökars was not part of a large, urban whole but was situated far away from city's hustle; its interior did not consist of modern pieces of furniture but of chandeliers, rocking chairs, and heavy, dark antique furniture (fig. 128-130). Interesting are also the references to the East instead of the West: if the Experimental House can be perceived to have influenced by the West European Modern Movement, on the walls of Bökars hung an enlarged picture of the Orthodox Church of the Transfiguration and the painting *Russian Beauty* by Russian artist Ilya Sergeyevich Glazunov (fig. 131-134). Also the Karelian log house *Siikavaara* of Armi's great-grandfather brought a certain Easter vibe with its ascetic interior and the Russian icon hung on the wall (fig. 135-137).

One answer is that actually their duality, their existence as polar opposites of each other, is the reason to perceive both as true representatives of Marimekko. When one takes a good look at Marimekko's fabric designs, press images or anything else related to the company, one quickly notices that this company is full of contrasts. Marimekko's designer Maija Isola for instance designed both minimalistic print *Isot Kivet* and ornamental *Hutjukka,* described as 'Byzantium-like' in *Kaunis Koti* in 1960 (fig. 138-139).[256] In 2003 the Finnish art historian Marianne Aav pointed out that Marimekko aesthetics have never been uniformal, but results from a construction of dualities. She sees that the development of Marimekko has partly been influenced by the dualism which exists between design and fashion and partly by the personality and background of Armi.[257] Armi seems to have been conscious

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[255] The date 1979 is based on another photo of Armi in which she also wears flowers in her hair and is dressed in an exactly same dress, published in *Marimekkoilmiö* (Phenomenon Marimekko).
[256] *Kaunis koti* 1960, p. 21.
[257] Aav 2003, p. 20 and Aav, Kivilinna,Viljanen 2011, p. 6.

about her own duality because in 1969 she told in an interview that 'the western in me is more rational, eastern more calmly calculating and cruel. The western is more composed, conscious and alert, the eastern letting go, sentimental, fierce in joy and sorrow.'[258] The pairs of opposites which can according to Aav be seen in Marimekko of Armi's era, are: Traditionalism – Innovation; Proximity to Nature – Urbanism; Unique Art – Mass Production; Artistic – Functional; Everyday – Festive; Organic – Geometric; Rational – Romantic; Homeyness – Exoticism, Strangeness; Ergonomics – Pure Form; Asceticism – Richness of Form; Finnishness – Internationalism.[259]

Like many other elements of Marimekko that contradicted with each other, the two 'Mary buildings' followed the same example. Some of these contrasts have already been mentioned above, but it cannot be underlined enough how different these houses were, emphasized even further by their suitableness to the dualities described by Aav. The manor house Bökars and its environment can be perceived as 'the rural version of the Marimekko world', located in one of a kind summer accommodation amidst the nature – which was partly even brought indoors (fig. 71, 75). Its environment is a result of creativity and whimsicality: in addition to the extensive use of Marimekko products as 'coulisses', the old functions of the outdoor buildings were forgotten when they were transformed into a sauna, play and dining room. The guest rooms were all characterized by a romantic atmosphere, but at the same time each room had its own distinctive personality. Bökars contained even its own 'Finnish cradle' in the form of the Karelian log house *Siikavaara*. Therefore, Bökars was truly a result of the richness of form with its different buildings and interiors. The Experimental House, in contrast, was an embodiment of 'the urban version of the Marimekko world'. A small building created for the mass production, its shape was based on the geometrical modules which were easy to prefabricate and install. The innovative idea of creating an urban environment with uniform buildings through the modular prefabrication was an ideal that many architects desired to achieve at the time; yet, at the same time these plans echo the ideologies of the West European Modern Movement from the 1920s. The dominantly geometrical from both exterior and interior, the Experimental House was created for the domestic life of a 'Mary family'. Everything in this house was purposed to serve its inhabitants, thus nothing else than the necessities were present; the building was stripped down to functionality. The rational design approach of Ruusuvuori is illustrated especially in the design of kitchen and storage spaces which aimed to maximize their functionality while being minimal – both in size and looks – at the same time. The minimalistic aesthetic of the Experimental House led also to its anonymity; the house itself does not reveal the personality of its inhabitants while in Bökars this is very much so.

Despite the differences these two milieus had similarities as well: the social ideology of equality and the ideal of community can be recognized in both. Although there were some elitist characteristics in Marimekko's clients or in the way how they were presented by the press, the Mari

[258] Aav, Kivilinna, Viljanen 2011, pp. 82-83, 143. Originally published in an interview in the American Vogue in 1969.
[259] Aav 2003, p. 22.

Village was visualised as a 'village of services' in which both young and old can meet. In 1967 the Norwegian newspaper *Morgenbladet* wrote that 'the Mary village should not just be for the employees of the factory. A modern environment will be varied. Here will live children, young and old, people with different interests and life tasks.'[260] Ruusuvuori's architectural frame which was influenced by the equalitarian ideologies of the 1920s and 1960s, was suitable for Armi's goal: the main goal of the Modern Movement was after all a classless habitation, a democratic dwelling for all individuals in all locations which would ultimately create new people and a new, more equal society.[261] During the 1960s some Finnish architects believed in a similar manner that democracy in living conditions could bring equality and remove injustice.[262] In Bökars, on the other hand, the equality was not architecturally present but in the way how Marimekko employees and guests, private and business guests alike, were treated: by the arrival everyone was 'dressed off' their titles and re-dressed in the unisex *Jokapoika* or *Tasaraita* clothes.[263] Here it did not matter if you were a famous pianist, journalist or even the president of Finland – in Bökars they all became 'Mary people'.

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[260] Parmann 1960, p. 12. The original Norwegian quote: 'Men Mari-byen skal ikke bare være for de ansatte ved fabrikken. Et moderne miljø skal være variert. Her skal det bo bade barn, unge og gamle, folk med forskjellige interesser og livsoppgaver.'

[261] Saarikangas 2002, p. 554.

[262] Connah 2005, p. 160.

[263] Sassi 1964, p. 56. The journalist describes the democratic atmosphere in Bökars with the following words: 'For the men guests […] is a staple of Marimekko shirts reserved […]. The striped shit belongs to the milieu of Armi's court, democratically it makes householders, guests, the workers of the property, carpenters, estate managers, janitors and Armi's butler and who else, as a part of the same happy family.' Original Finnish quote: 'Miespuolisille vieraille on [...] varattu pinkka marimekkopaitoja [...]. Raidallinen paita kuuluu Armin hovin maisemaan, demokraattisesti se saa isännät, vieraat, tilan työläiset, kirvesmiehet, tilanhoitajan, talonmiehen ja Armin hovimestarin ja ketä heitä onkin, saman yhteisen iloisen perheen jäseniksi.'

Conclusion

Women like her have always existed, she can be placed in any era. Always she would have built something in the spirit of the time, done something characteristic for the time […].'
- Saarikoski, 1977[264]

During the 1960s Marimekko, a company that had over a decade produced printed fabrics and clothes, set its first steps towards the world of interior design and architecture. Why? Why would a company take such a big leap into an unknown world? Armi Ratia, on the other hand, would say 'Why not?'.

Armi was a dreamer who dared to take concrete steps to realize her dreams; a woman who was bad in numbers, but exceptionally good in gathering talented and creative individuals together who inspired her, had as wild visions as she did and also took risks in realizing them. The Mari Village was Armi's ultimate dream which was not fully supported by the Marimekko employees or even by Marimekko's second founder, Viljo Ratia. Despite that her vision of an industrial village in which Marimekko employees could work and live together, was strong. The Finnish architect Aarno Ruusuvuori offered his help to create a physical form to her utopian fantasy. With his minimalistic aesthetics, rational mindset and latest technologies of modular prefabrication, Armi's dream attained a materialized shape in the form of the Experimental House in 1966. Visually the building offered – like Marimekko's dresses – a minimalistic frame which served its user in the most effective way; ideologically the house represented one dwelling in a totality that was to become a base for the Marimekko community and their idealized life.

The 1960s is a decade that saw many utopian plans which in the end collapsed into their impossibility, even though their visionaries deeply believed in their success. In the same sense the plans for the Mari Village followed the spirit of the time. The idea of Marimekko in all areas of life was not born overnight but had been brooded for a longer period of time; already in 1954 Armi wrote her often cited letter of Marimekko as the 'project for this changing world's highways, streets, homes, and a whole living environment'. It took almost ten years, namely until 1963, before any concrete steps were taken for the establishment of this 'living environment'. By 1967 the prototype of the 'Mary dwelling' was finished and numerous Marimekko interior products had hit the market. At the same time, the key elements of the 'Marimekko lifestyle' were presented in the press through Marimekko's photo shoots, fashion shows and other releases which emphasized comfort, freedom, equality, unpretentiousness, the importance of communities and merry attitude towards life. Other important values seem to have been 'Finnishness' and Marimekko as a part of 'Finnish design'. After all, at the time that Marimekko was established, in 1951, the Finnish design was about to have its breakthrough around the world.

[264] Saarikoski 1977, p. 1. Original Finnish quote: 'Hänenlaisiaan naisia on ollut kaikkina aikoina, hänet voi sijoittaa mielessään mihin aikakauteen tahansa. Aina hän olisi kunkin hengen mukaisesti rakentanut jotakin, tehnyt jotakin sille ajalle ominaista [...].'

Marimekko's strong association with the applied arts can also be perceived as a cause for a certain elitist character it attained in the public; although Marimekko targeted its products to individuals in all parts of the society, the company was especially embraced by 'intellectuals', the ones found from the world of art, design, architecture or from the universities.

In the end Armi was not satisfied with the Experimental House because its executed form missed its most important part which would have made it 'home': the social dimension. Her 'village of services' had gained an architectural and material form, but it missed its soul. Maybe Armi did not realize that the world she wanted to create already existed closer than she would have thought, namely, in her and Viljo's summer accommodation – the manor house Bökars. The main building and its surroundings was during Armi's era a mix of whimsicality, work, play and hospitality of the East. Here everybody could become members of the 'Mary family' in a setting that resembled the paintings of the Swedish artist Carl Larsson. Many visual references to Larsson's paintings reveal Armi's underlying admiration towards the idyllic life presented in his works; it could be that Armi – consciously or unconsciously – strove towards the creation of the 'Larsson's world' by dressing up people and the milieu of Bökars in its manner. As a result, an environment came into being which fits surprisingly well in Ellen Key's criteria of 'an ideal home' that was set on the paper in the late nineteenth century.

This realization, however, increases the gap between the manor house Bökars and the Experimental House, making it even harder to grasp that they both stood for the same company. On the one hand there was the expressive 'do-it-yourself' environment of Bökars which fitted in the home ideals of the late nineteenth, early twentieth century, on the other hand there was the sober and objective, industrially produced Experimental House which stemmed from the ideologies shaped during the 1920s and 1960s. Logically thinking, one could think that since Bökars was the first 'built' environment of Marimekko, the first prototype dwelling for the Mari Village would follow its example. Yet, the first, official 'Mary home' was modern, minimalistic and anonymous frame for the company's fabrics and products which are anything but restrained with their large, colourful and artistically made patterns. How come? And lastly, what did Armi mean with 'Modern Living'? Could it be that Armi aimed to create a modern living environment developed with the latest technologies like the Experimental House was? This argument could be supported by the fact that Armi was surrounded by influential individuals who probably brought her to this idea: Ruusuvuori, who advocated in the similar way to some of his architecture colleagues the socialist ideology of creating a new, democratic society through the mass production of uniform dwellings, an idea initially presented by the avant-garde architects and designers of the Modern Movement in the 1920s; and Benjamin Thompson, a longtime friend of Armi and an old student of Walter Gropius whose ideas of an 'ideal living environment' were very likely influenced by the *Bauhaus* school of thought due to his background. If it is true that Armi's desire was to shape a progressive environment, it would mean that Bökars, a historical environment from the 1930s, would have been perceived as outdated, thus unsuitable for Marimekko's ideal living ideology. However, this

is very hard to believe because Bökars served extensively as a backdrop for the Marimekko's photo shoots which presented the 'Marimekko lifestyle' to the public.

In other words, 'Modern Living' does not seem to indicate to the latest developments and techniques in architecture as the word 'modern' can be understood.[265] The Mari Village was, after all, 'not about houses, but LIVING, a village of services.' A few sentences below, Armi emphasized the word SERVICE by using capital letters in her letter to Ruusuvuori. Indeed, the service was not only the backbone of the Mari Village, but arguably of the whole Marimekko philosophy. Like Armi replaced the word 'fashion' with the concept 'serving clothes', it would seem natural that the manor house Bökars and the Experimental House were both *serving houses*; in Bökars the guests were kept entertained through numerous kinds of festivities while in the Experimental House every solution aimed to fulfil its inhabitants' essentials needs in a minimum size. Another important aspect of this 'Modern Living' was undoubtedly the socialist ideology of equality and emancipation which becomes obvious, among others, in the way how Marimekko broke the conventional image of women as housewives and created a new meaning for them as independent, career oriented individuals, freed from the norms and rules set by the society. Similarly, it seems like Marimekko desired to educate its customers to live in a communal environment that was broken free from the social hierarchies with its Mary Village project. In this sense 'Modern Living' did not necessary mean living in a milieu created with the latest innovations; even in Bökars it could be performed despite the building's less contemporary appearance, because here everybody could break free from the titles or rules set by the society and be all part of the same, big family.

The question which still remains unanswered, is the source of the apparent contradictory between Bökars and the Experimental House. It could simply be remarked that contradictions are a continuously occurring theme in Marimekko, and the two 'Mary houses' are just a continuation of this tradition. However, what if these buildings were not so different from each other after all? Sometimes opposites become essential parts of the unity; like Armi was a construction of two contrasting sides, 'rational and composed western' and 'sentimental and fierce eastern' they both contributed to her personality as one whole. Armi and Marimekko are furthermore by no means the only ones characterized by contradictions; the Finnish architect Alvar Aalto, for instance, became one of the leading architects in Finland in the early 1930s with his buildings that resonated the ideologies of the Modern Movement, but already in the end of the same decade he moved towards more expressive

[265] The online Oxford Dictionaries defines the word 'modern' as: relating to the present or recent times as opposed to the remote past; characterized by or using the most up-to-date techniques, ideas, or equipment; denoting the form of a language that is currently used, as opposed to any earlier form; denoting a current or recent style or trend in art, architecture, or other cultural activity marked by a significant departure from traditional styles and values; a person who advocates or practises a departure from traditional styles or values. Retrieved from http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/modern on 5 June 2016.

architecture while still holding onto the basic principles from his early works.[266] Later, Alvar Aalto wrote: 'in every case one must achieve a simultaneous solution of opposites.'[267] Aalto's rejection of unity achieved by simplification was praised by the American architect Robert Venturi (1925-), who further noted that 'architecture of complexity and contradiction has a special obligation towards the whole: its truth must be in its totality. It must embody the difficult unity of inclusion rather than the easy unity of exclusion.'[268] It can be argued that, in Venturi's words, Bökars and the Experimental House both embodied *the difficult unity of inclusion*. In the beginning, namely, these two buildings were actually both 'empty frames' which were later dressed up in the style 'à la Marimekko'. With that said, they both became recognized as part of the company *after* the inclusion of the 'Mary coulisses' which at first glance would not fit in these environments: the big, bold and colourful printed fabrics of Marimekko were quite a contrast against the rural classical style of Bökars, or the bare and minimal space of the Experimental House. However, without the effect created by these contrasting Marimekko products, Bökars would have been like any other rural mansion and the Experimental House would have resembled in its soberness the dwellings showed in the *Weissenhofsiedlung*. Only after the inclusion of the additional Marimekko layer, they both became physical constructions of multiple dimensions which ultimately contributed to their character as 'Mary houses'. Both being constructions of complexity and contradictions, the Bökars and the Experimental House were like Armi's personality, rational and sentimental – and so, equally Marimekko.

[266] For more information about the complexity in Aalto's architecture, see for example Tuomo Hirvonen, 'Ambiguity and Tensions in the Architecture of the Main Building of the College of Education at Jyväskylä' , Tampere 2013.
[267] Pallasmaa 2007, p. 29.
[268] Venturi 1966/1992, pp. 16, 18.

Figures

Fig. 1 and 2 – Above: Anonymous, Marimekko dresses in the streets of Helsinki, Finland, 1960s. Source: Aav 2003. Below: A campaign photo of Marimekko for the American retail chain Target, 2016. Retrieved from https://us.marimekko.com/marimekko-for-target on 17 April 2016.

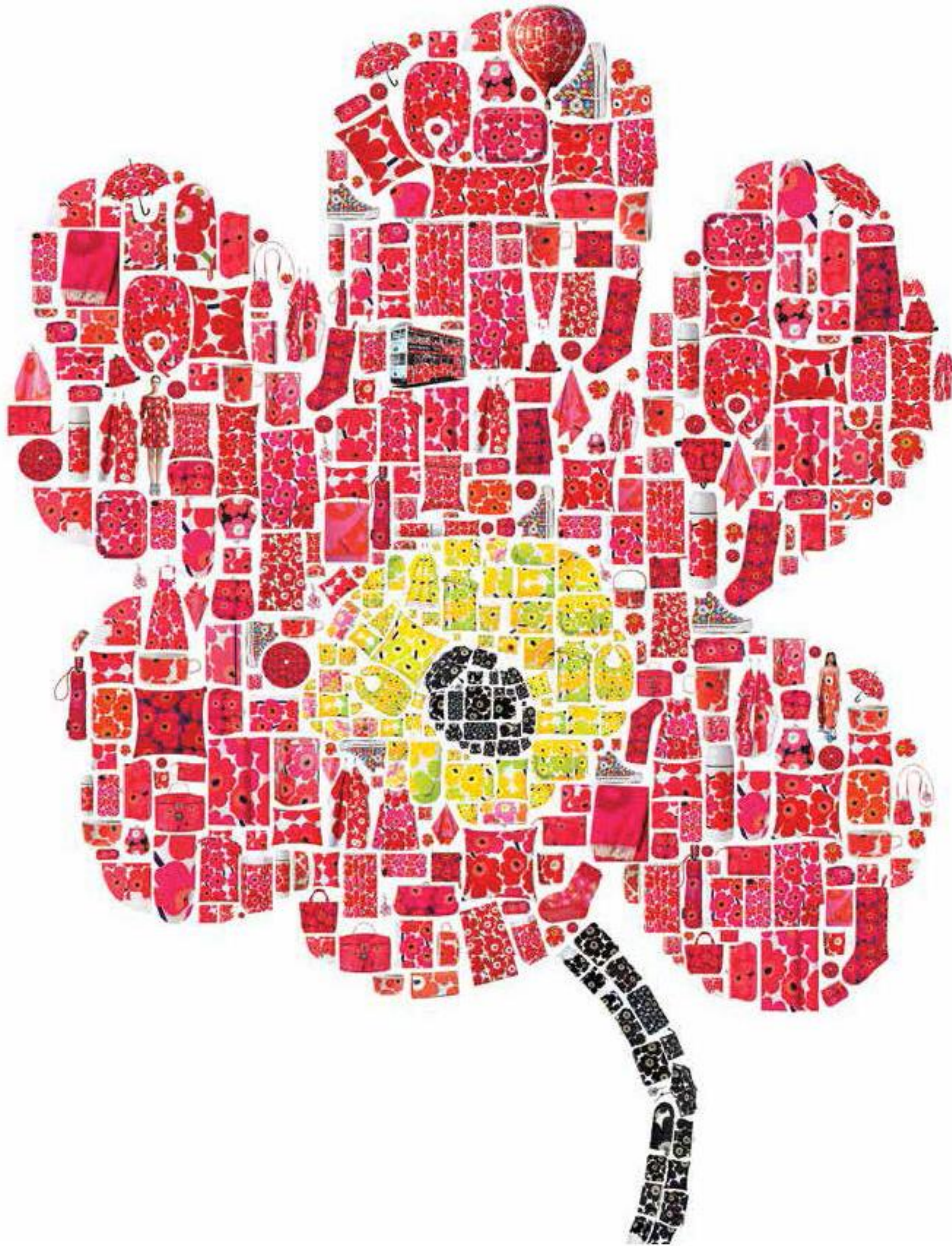


Fig. 3 – Anonymous, The iconic *Unikko* of Marimekko constructed from the Marimekko products with the *Unikko* print, year unknown. Retrieved from http://www.norwegian.com/magazine/features/2014/04/flower-power#vzTljMQIw1p1iPXg.97 on 14 November 2015.

Fig. 4 and 5 – Above: Anonymous, *Marimekko for Finnair*: a collaboration between Marimekko and Finnair airlines, 2012. Retrieved from https://gallery.finnair.com/material/6902b47f508ba06e4c15f0e8bc752e01 on 17 April 2016. Below: Anonymous, A hot air balloon in *Unikko* print above Helsinki, year unknown. Retrieved from http://www.archilovers.com/stories/2108/marimekko-s-unikko-hot-air-balloons.html on 17 April 2016.

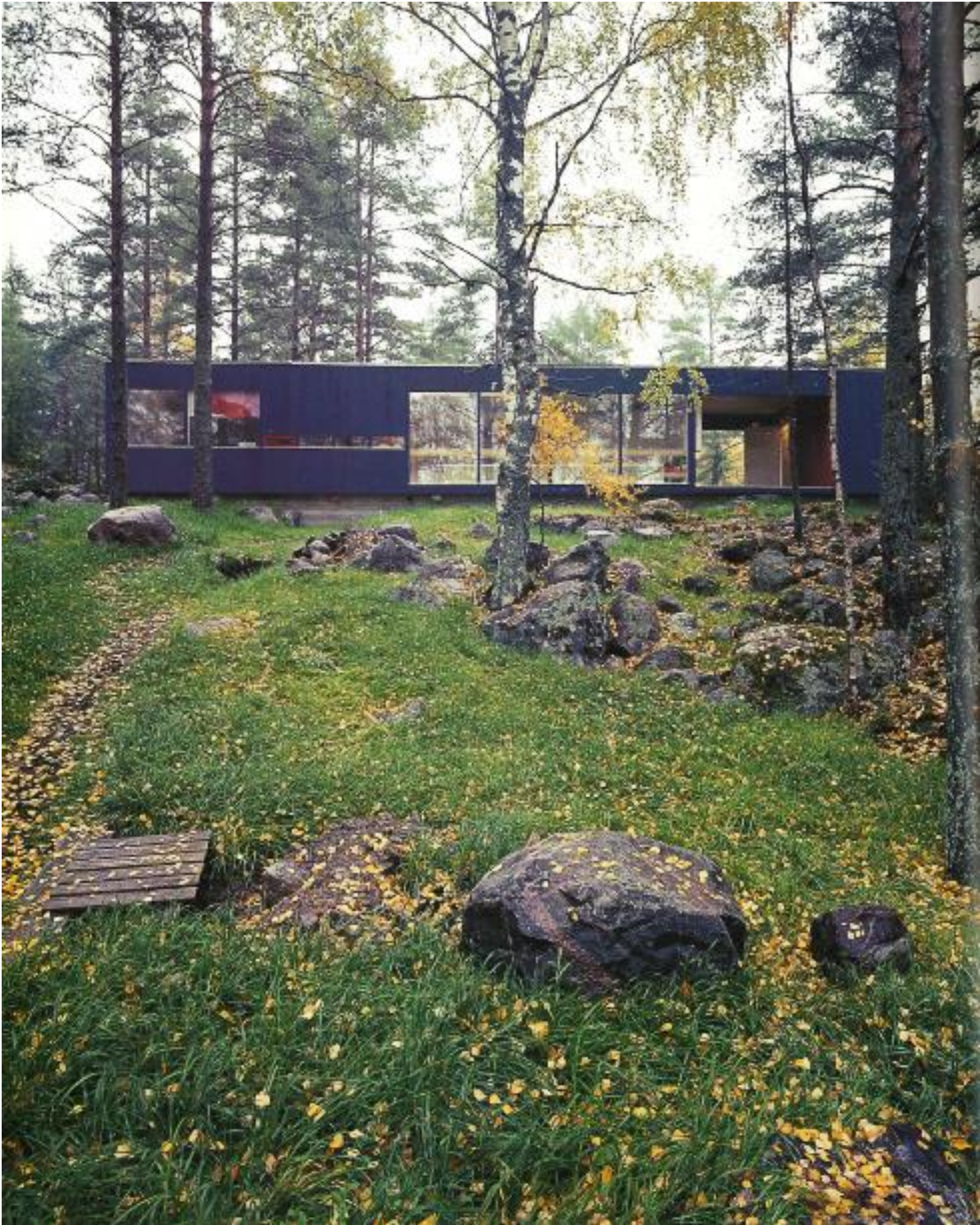


Fig. 6 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, *The Experimental House*, 1966, Bökars, Porvoo, Finland. Source: Nikula 2003.

Fig. 7 – Anonymous, The manor house Bökars, 1960s, Gäddrag, Finland. Source: Aav 2003.

Fig. 8 – Philip Speakman, *The Red House,* 1859-60, Bexleyheath, England. Retrieved from http://www.victorianweb.org/art/architecture/webb/1.html on 17 April 2016.

Fig. 9 – Carl Larsson, *In the Corner*, 1899, watercolour on paper, 32,0 x 43,0 cm, coll. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden.

Fig. 10 – Carl Larsson, *Old Anna*, 1899, watercolour on paper, 32,0 x 43,0 cm, coll. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden.

Fig. 11 – Gesellius-Lindgren-Saarinen, *The Hvitträsk,* 1901-03, Kirkkonummi, Finland. Retrieved from http://www.rky.fi/read/asp/r_kohde_det.aspx?KOHDE_ID=948 on 17 April 2016.

Fig. 12 – Gesellius-Lindgren-Saarinen, *The Hvitträsk* (interior)*,* 1901-03, Kirkkonummi, Finland. Retrieved from http://www.museot.fi/museohaku/index.php?museo_id=21339 on 17 April 2016.

Fig. 13 – Borg, Sirén, Åberg, The Parliament House, 1924-30, Helsinki, Finland. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=27765535 on 17 April 2016.

Fig. 14 – Anonymous, The Weissenhof Settlement, 1927, Stuttgart, Germany. Retrieved from http://de.phaidon.com/agenda/architecture/articles/2012/november/28/buildings-that-changed-the-world-the-weissenhof-settlement-stuttgart/ on 18 April 2016.

Fig. 15 – Walter Gropius, *Weissenhofsiedlung*, house 16, furniture designed by Marcel Breuer, 1927, Stuttgart, Germany. Courtesy of Dr. Lossen & Co. – Bauhaus archives, Berlin. Retrieved from https://www.yatzer.com/Marcel-Breuer-design-architecture/slideshow/5 on 25 April 2016.

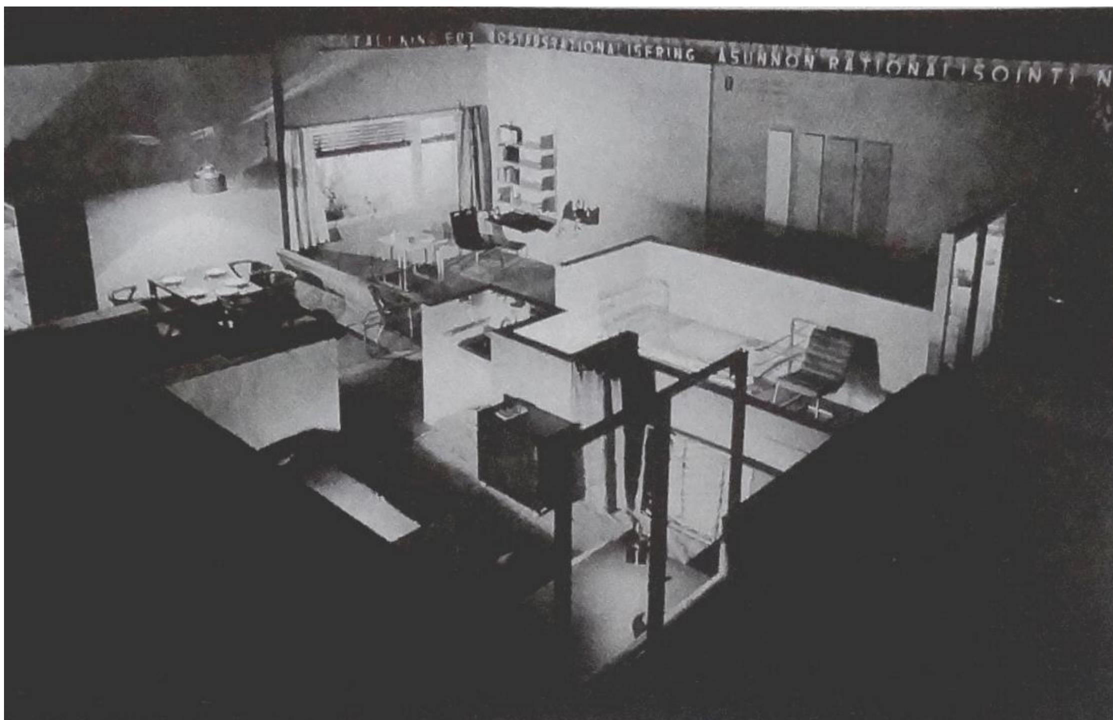


Fig. 16 – Anonymous, The *Exhibition on the Rationalization of Small Apartments* at Taidehalli, 1930, Helsinki, Finland. Source: Pallasmaa, J.,'Alvar Aalto: Toward a Synthetic Functionalism', in: Reed, P. (ed.), *Alvar Aalto, Between Humanism and Materialism* (exh. cat. het Museum of Modern Art New York), New York 1998.

Fig. 17 – Anonymous, The *Exhibition on the Rationalization of Small Apartments* at Taidehalli, 1930, Helsinki, Finland. Source: Svinhufvud 2010.

Fig. 18 – Anonymous, The ceded areas as a consequence of the Second World War (in red), year unknown. Translated by author from Finnish. Retrieved from https://www15.uta.fi/FAST/FIN/HIST/kt-evac.html on 18 April 2016.

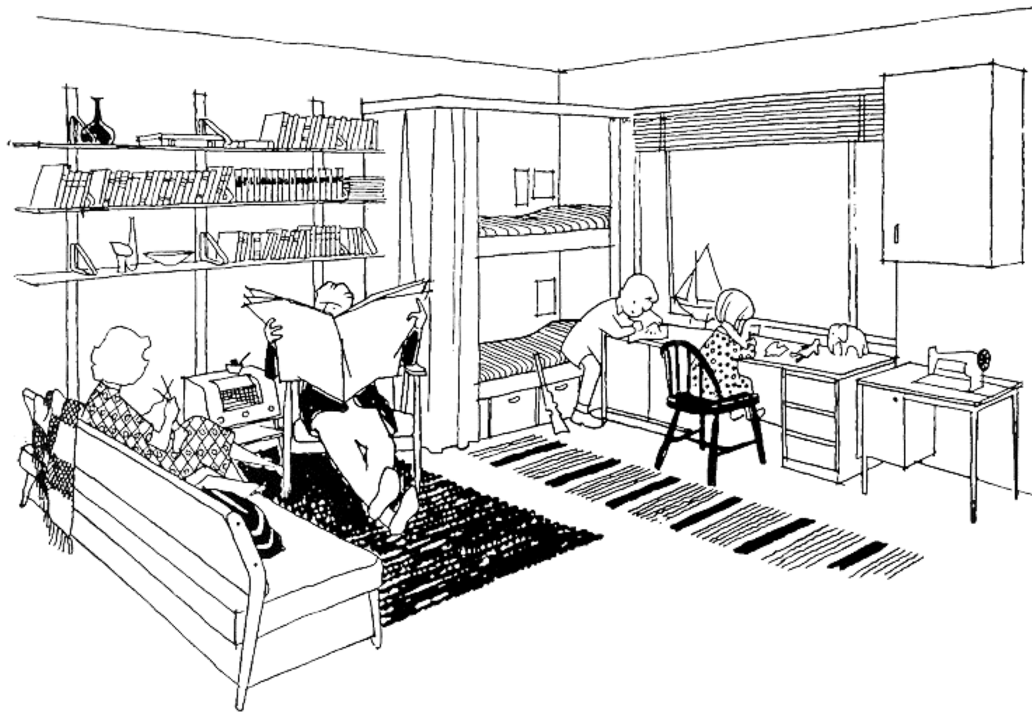


Fig. 19 – Ulla and Jorma Mäenpää, An illustration from *Joka kodin sisustusopas* (Every Home's Interior Guide), 1953. Source: Huokuna 2006.

Fig. 20 – Anonymous, The exhibition *Kauneutta arkeen* (Beautiful Everyday), 1949, Helsinki, Finland. Source: Svenskberg 2012.

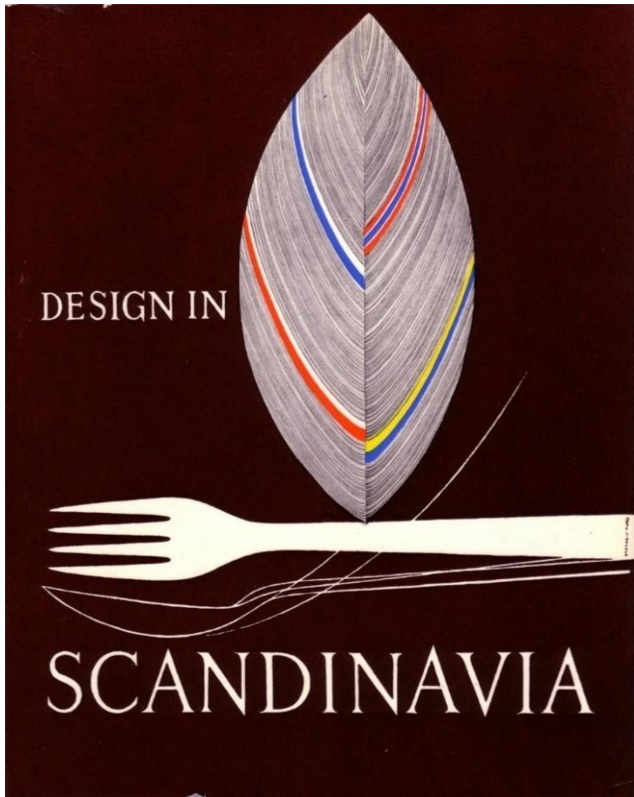


Fig. 21 – Tapio Wirkkala, The layout and cover design of the poster for the exhibition *Design in Scandinavia*, 1954. Retrieved from https://www.flickr.com/photos/ad_symphoniam/ on 18 April 2016.

Fig. 22 – Raimo Kallio-Mannila and Teuvo Koivu, The construction of the *Domino System*, 1964, place unknown. Source: The exhibition catalogue 'Exhibition of Finnish Architecture', The Hague April 28 – May 19, 1975, Netherlands Congress Centre, Turin 1973-74.

Fig. 23 – Fuller Buckminster, *Save Our Planet, Save Our Cities*, 1971, half-toned and screen printed poster, 6,92 x7,45 cm, produced by Olivetti. Coll. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England.

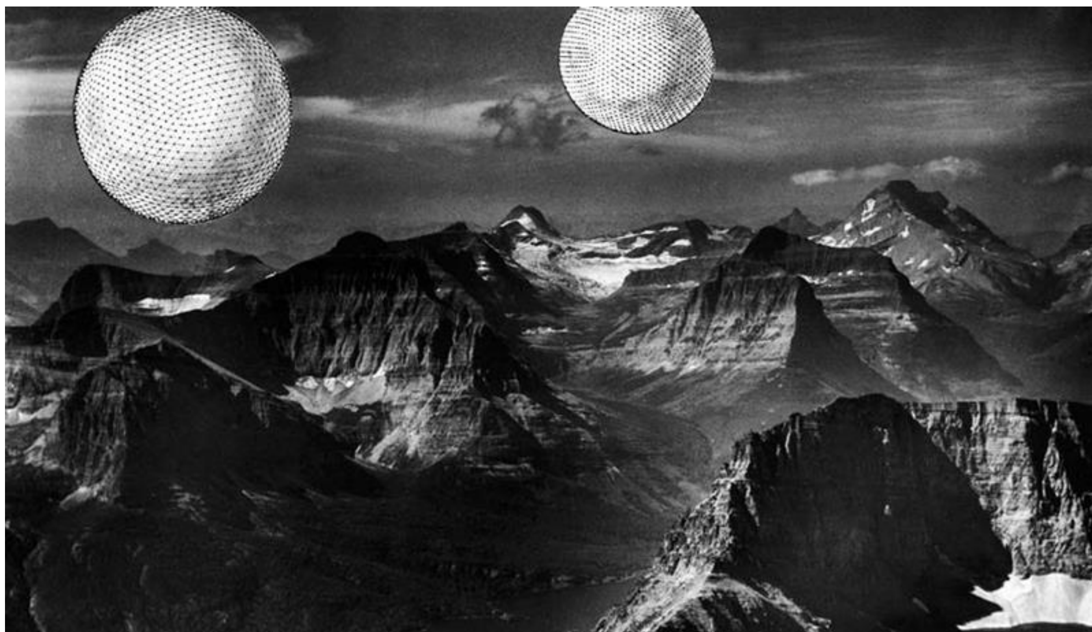


Fig. 24 – Buckminster Fuller and Shoji Sadao, *Cloud Nine Project*, ca. 1960, black-and-white photograph mounted on board, 40,3 x 50,2 cm. Retrieved from http://quod.lib.umich.edu/o/ohp/12527215.0001.001/1:16/--architecture-in-the-anthropocene-encounters-among-design?rgn=div1;view=fulltext on 20 May 2016.

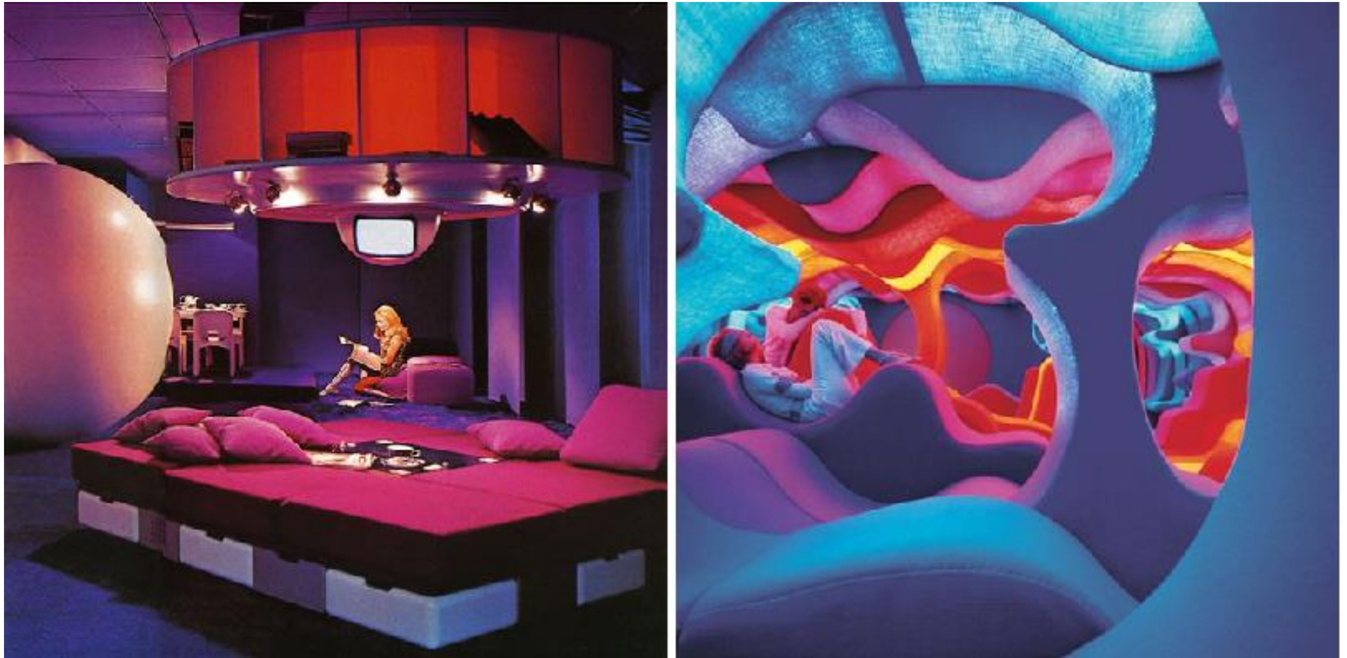


Fig. 25 and 26 – Left: Joe Colombo, *Visiona 1* for the chemistry company Bayer AG at the Cologne Furniture Fair*,* 1969, Cologne, Germany. Right: Verner Panton, *Phantasy Landscape, Visiona 2* for the chemistry company Bayer AG at the Cologne Furniture Fair*,* 1970, Cologne, Germany. Retrieved from http://www.dailyicon.net/2012/05/ and http://www.domusweb.it/en/news/2014/02/06/visiona_1970.html on 18 April 2016.

Fig. 27 – Matti Suuronen, *The Futuro House* (1968) illustrated in the promotional brochure from the magazine *Insulation,* 1969. Retrieved from http://www.futurohouse.com/todmorden_brochure.pdf on 18 April 2016.

Fig. 28 – Maija Isola, *Amfora*, 1949, hand-screened print on cotton, manufacturer Printex, Helsinki, Finland. Retrieved from https://us.marimekko.com/unfold/the-story on 10 March 2016.

Fig. 29 – Anonymous, The first Marimekko fashion show at Kalastajantorppa hotel, 1951, Helsinki, Finland. Source: Wiikeri 1986.

Fig. 30 – Anonymous, The first Marimekko fashion show at Kalastajantorppa hotel, 1951, Helsinki, Finland. Source: Wiikeri 1986.

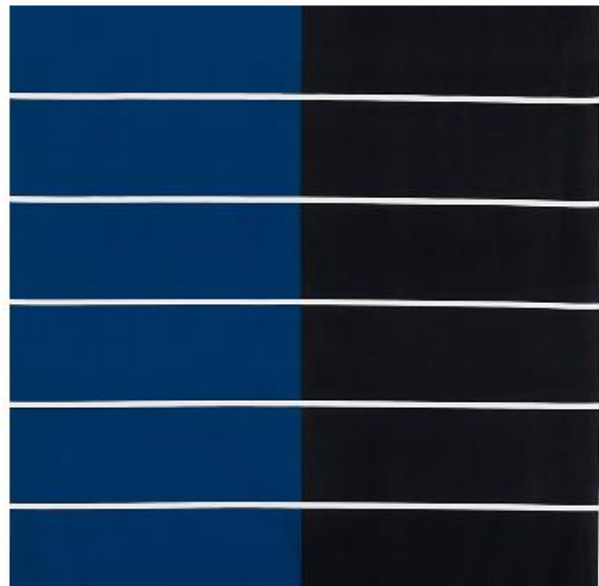


Fig. 31 and 32 – Left: Viola Gråsten, *Oomph,* 1952, hand printed pattern on linen, manufacturer the Ljungbergs Factory, Rydboholm, Sweden. Right: Vuokko Eskolin-Nurmesniemi, *Tibet,* 1953, hand-screened print on cotton, manufacturer Printex, Helsinki, Finland. Retrieved from https://www.designonline.se/Products/sek1/Trademark/Ljungbergs+Textiltryck/24489/Oomph+tyg&variantId=01 and http://www.hs.fi/kuukausiliite/a1305957914119 on 17 April 2016.

Fig. 33 – Vuokko Eskolin-Nurmesniemi, Three dress designs from left to right: *Yleishame* (1952), *Alkupaita* (1955) and *Kivijalkahelle* (1958). Source: Marimekkoilmiö/Phenomenon Marimekko 1986.

Fig. 34 – Anonymous, The cover of the *Sport Illustrated* featuring Jacqueline Kennedy dressed in a Marimekko dress, 1960. Retrieved from http://www.architectuur.nl/nieuws/design-happy-life/ on 18 April 2016.

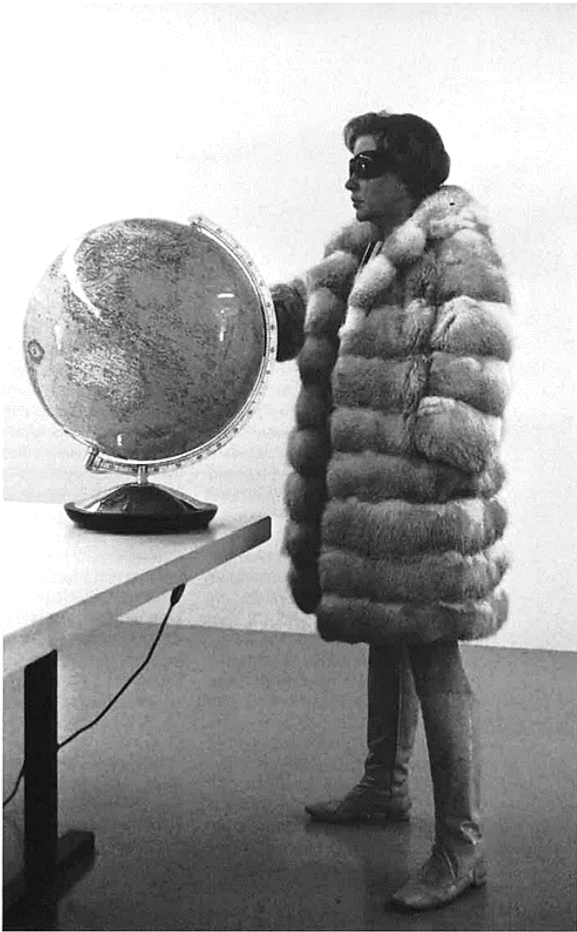


Fig. 35 – Gustaf Wahlsten, Armi Ratia with a world globe, 1966. Source: Ainamo 2003.

Fig. 36 – Anonymous, The Airaksinen family (Armi in the middle), year unknown. Source: Parkkinen 2005.

Fig. 37 – Anonymous, The general store and hotel of M. Airaksinen in Koivisto, year unknown. Source: Parkkinen 2005.

Fig. 38 – Anonymous, Viljo and Armi Ratia, 1939. Source: Parkkinen 2005.

Fig. 39 – Anonymous, Armi Ratia in the cover of the *Suur Seura* magazine (1977) 9. Source: Karsi 1995.

Fig. 40 – Anonymous, Urho Kekkonen, the president of the Republic of Finland, at the opening of the new Marimekko factory at Kitee (Armi on the right side), 1974. Retrieved from http://www.hs.fi/kulttuuri/a1441702273659 on 10 May 2016.

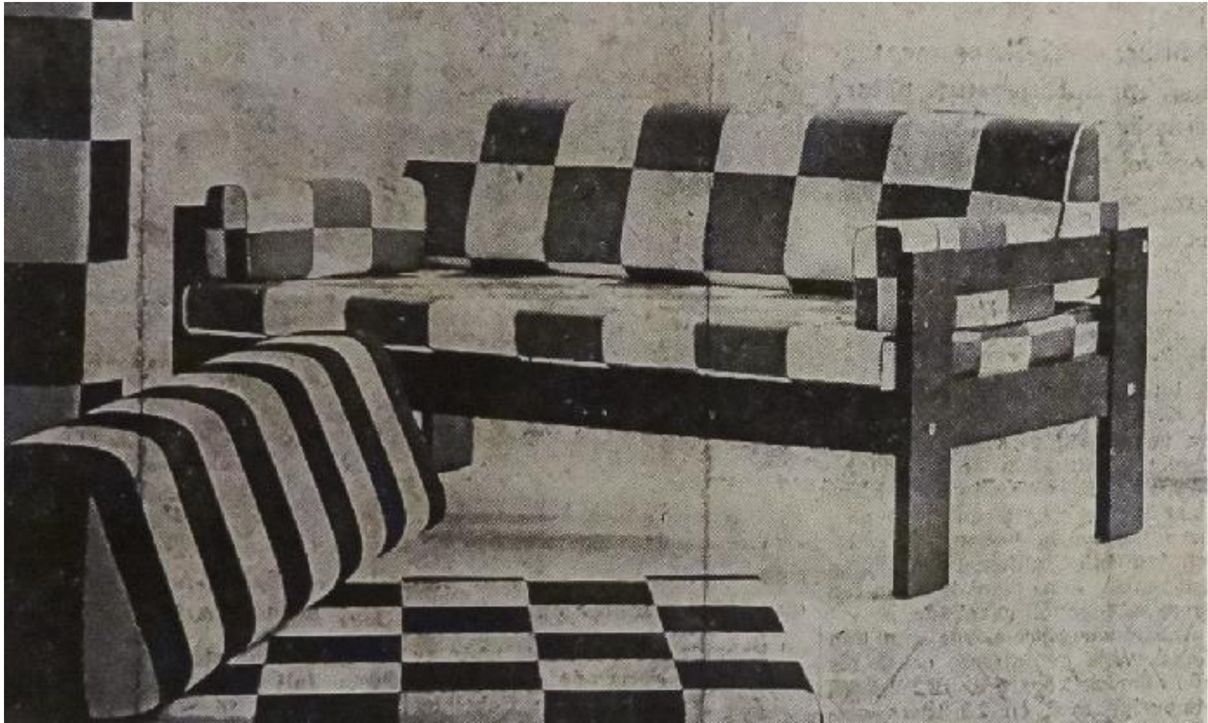


Fig. 41 – Anonymous, *Fruitful Co-operation Textile-Paper-Furniture*: The furniture from the *Marimekko by* series published in the *Hufvudstadsbladet Helsingfors* on 25 March 1969. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 42 – Anonymous, *Marimekko in Our Homes:* Objects from the *Marimekko by* series published in the *Nya Pressen Helsingfors* on 25 March 1969. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 43 – Anonymous, Architect Ben Thompson and Armi Ratia, year unknown. Source: Tanttu 1968/2012.

Fig. 44 – Anonymous, Maija Isola’s fabric design *Tantsu* for Printex-Marimekko in the Finnish section at the Milan Triennial, 1960. Source: Aav 2003.

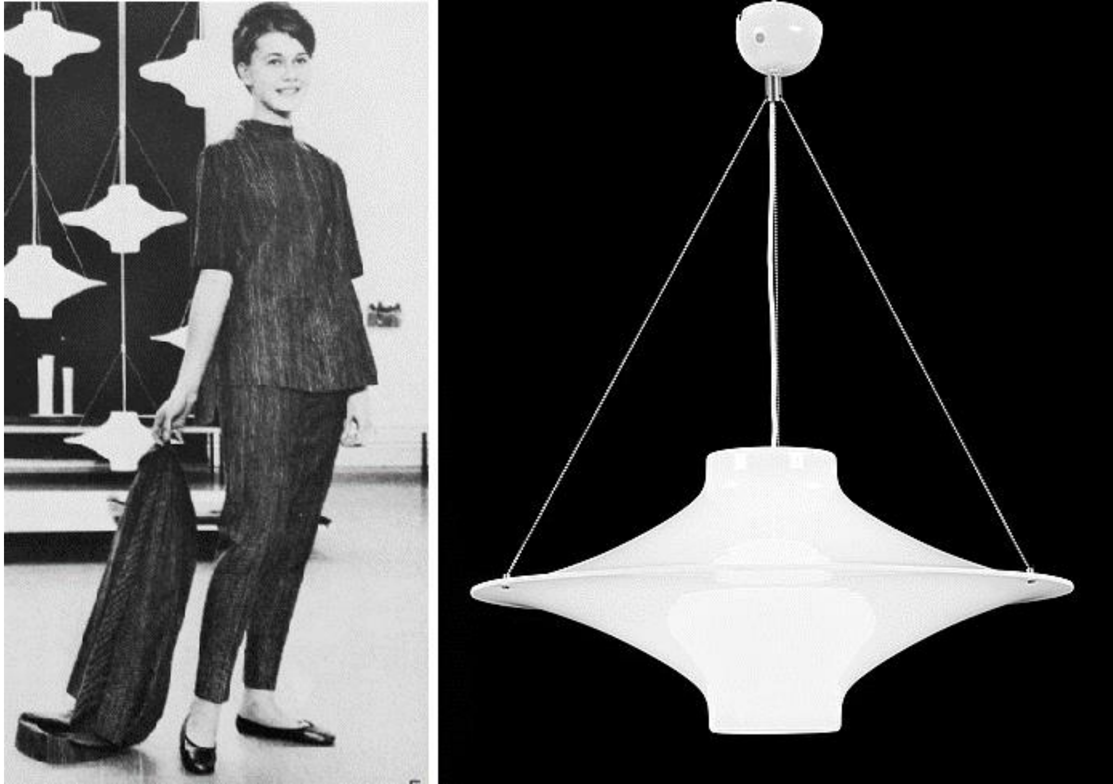


Fig. 45 and 46 – Left: Anonymous, A Marimekko model posing in the *Garcon* pyjama designed by Liisa Suvanto, c. 1960. Source: Marimekkoilmiö/Phenomenon Marimekko 1986. Right: Yki Nummi, *Lokki lamp,* 1960. Retrieved from https://www.bukowskis.com/en/lots/448775-taklampa-lokki-fiskmasen-sky-flyer-yki-nummi-adelta-finland-formgiven-1960 on 10 May 2016.

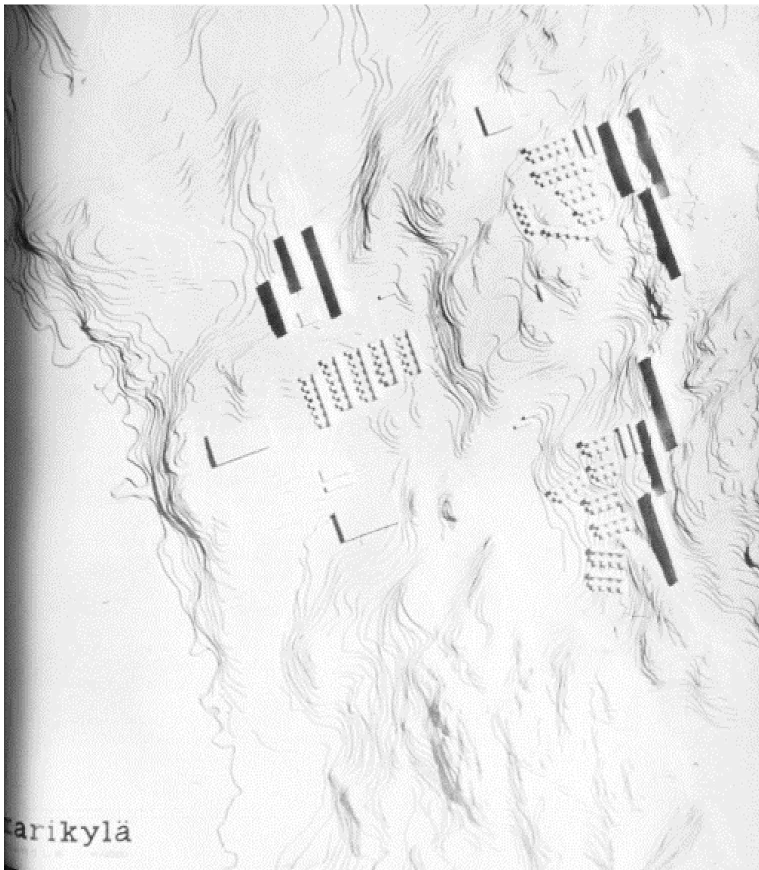


Fig. 47 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, The Scale Model of the Mari Village for Bemböle, Espoo, year unknown (c. 1963-64). Source: Nikula 2003.

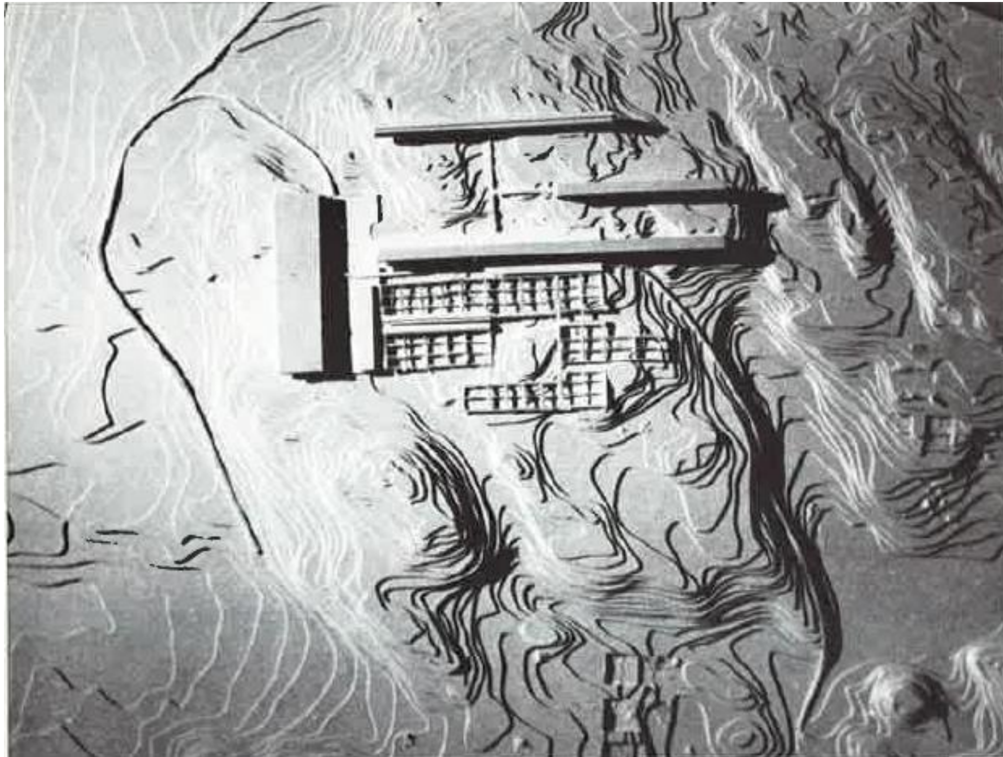


Fig. 48 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, The Scale Model of the Mari Village, year unknown (c. 1966). Source: Donner 1986.

Fig. 49 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, *The Experimental House* (1966) published in the *Femina* magazine (1967) 43. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

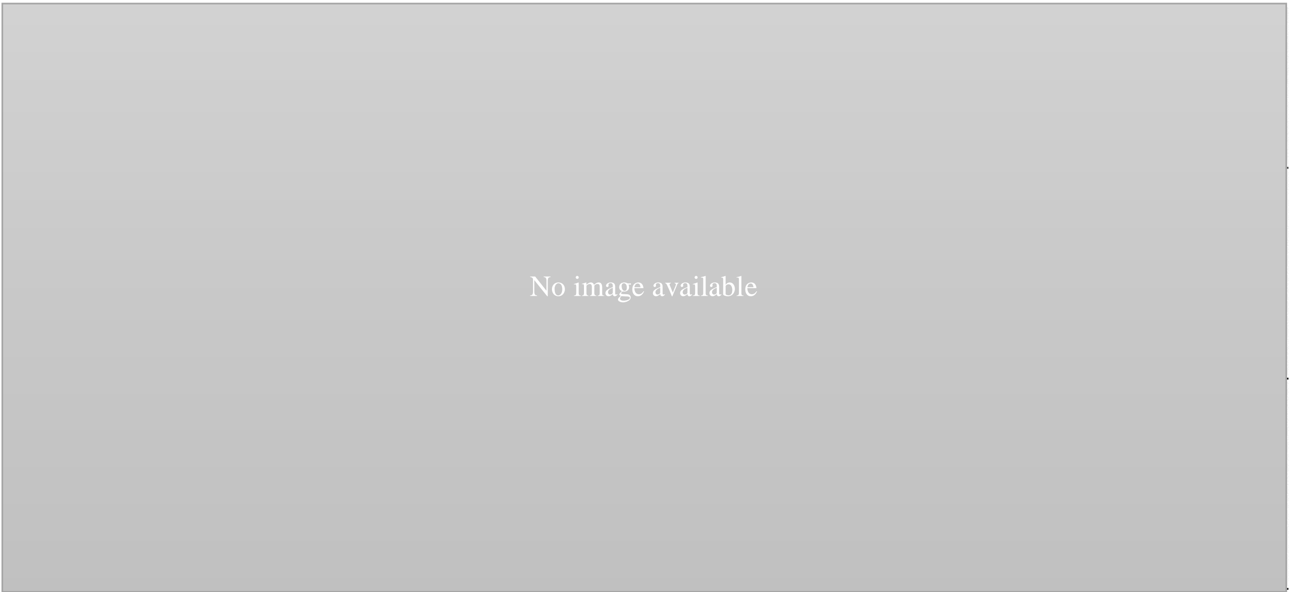


Fig. 50 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, The section of the Experimental House, year unknown (c. 1966). Coll. The Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, Finland.

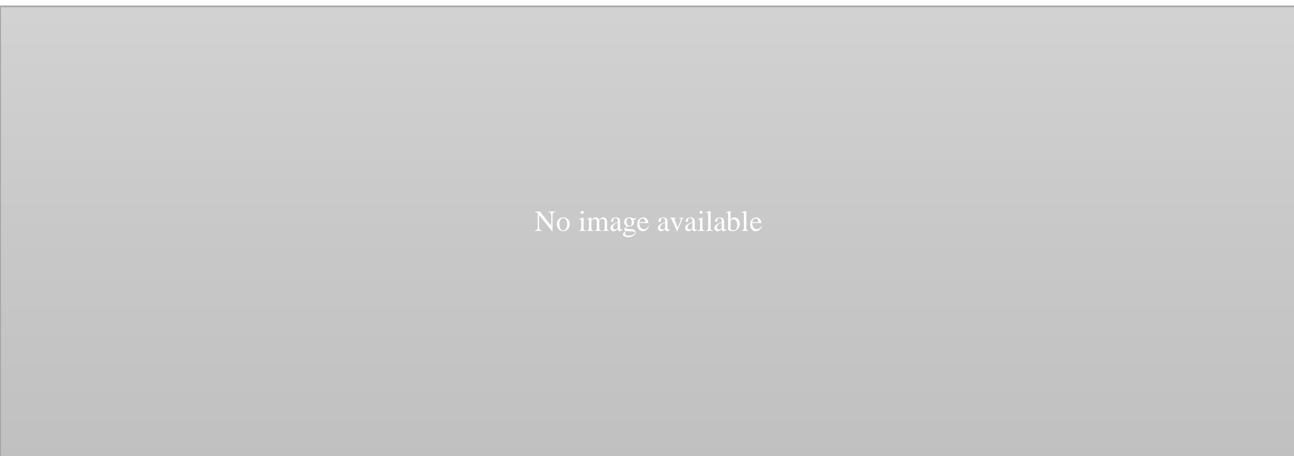


Fig. 51 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, The section of the Experimental House, year unknown (c. 1966). Coll. The Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, Finland.

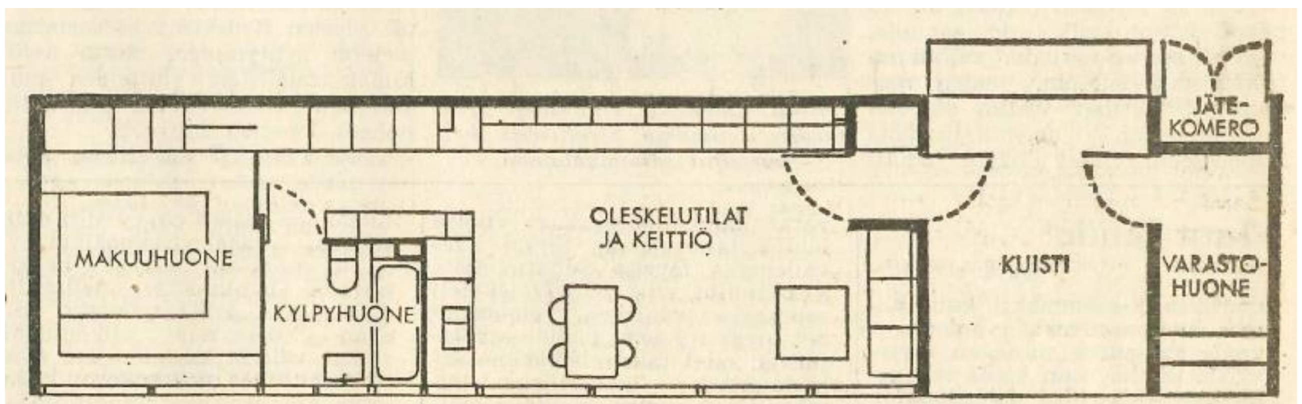


Fig. 52 – The plan of the Experimental House published in the Finnish newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* on 12 April 1967. From left to right: bedroom, bathroom, living room and kitchen, covered entrance terrace, storeroom, waste cabinet. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 53 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, The drawing of the ‘house type A’ of the Mari Village, year unknown (c. 1963-1966). Coll. The Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 54 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, The drawing of the ‘house type B’ of the Mari Village, year unknown (c. 1963-1966). Coll. The Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, Finland.

No image available

Fig. 55 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, The design of four variations of the prefabricated house (100 square-meters) for the Mari Village, year unknown (c. 1963-66). Coll. Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, Finland.

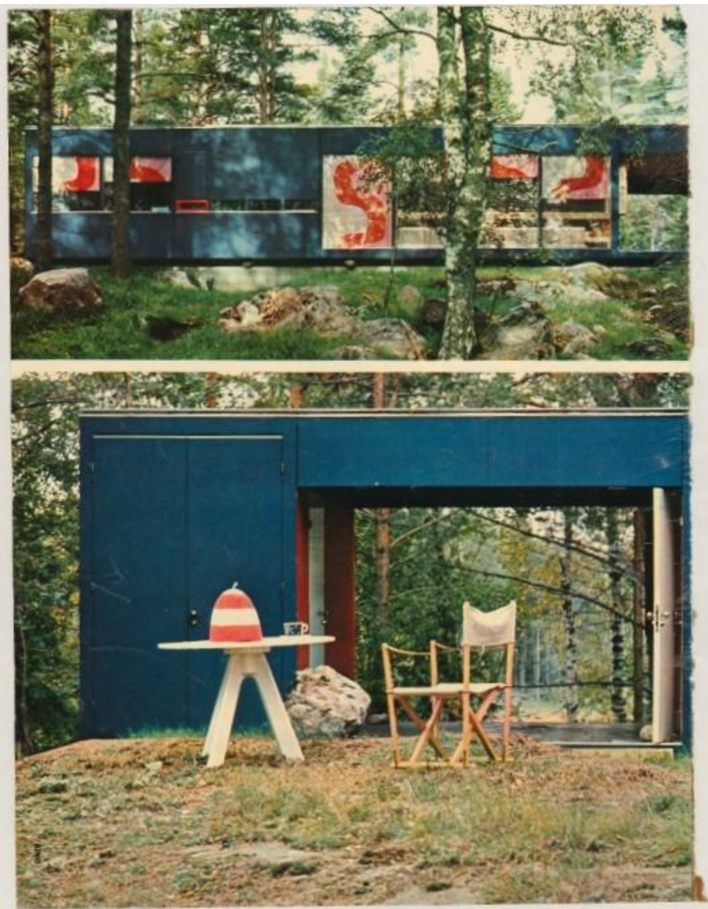


Fig. 56 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, The Experimental House published in the French *Elle* magazine, year unknown (c. 1966-67). Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 57 – Birger Lindqvist, The manor house Bökars, c. 1930s. Source: Gaynor 1995.

Fig. 58 – Anonymous, The outside buildings of the manor house Bökars, year unknown. Source: Gaynor 1995.

Fig. 59 – Anonymous, The windmill situated in the property of the manor house Bökars, year unknown. Source: Gaynor 1995.

Fig. 60 and 61 – Anonymous, The boathouse situated in the property of the manor house Bökars and its interior (sauna), published in the *Femina* magazine (1967) 30. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 62 – Anonymous, The old barn situated in the property of the manor house Bökars published in the *Femina* magazine (1967) 30. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

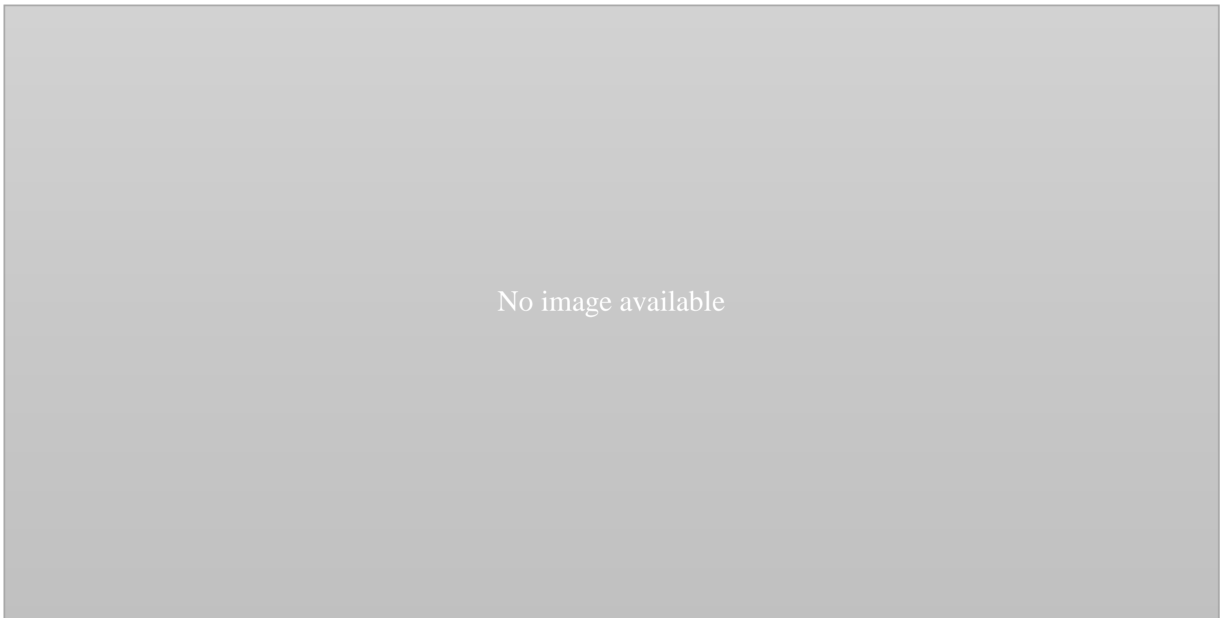


Fig. 63 – Anonymous, The log house *Siikavaara* of Armi Ratia's great-grandfather illustrated on an invitation by Marimekko, 1977. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 64 and 65 – Right: Anonymous, Pavilion at Bökars, 1975. Copyright Marimekko Corporation. Collection of Janis and Helga Kravis. Source: McCabe 2013. Left: Anonymous, A picture photographed in Bökars and published in the *Moderne Frau* magazine (1967) 19. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 66 and 67 – Tony Vaccaro, A few photos from the photo shoot *Bright Spirit of Marimekko*, photographed in Bökars and published in the *Life* magazine 60 (1966) 25, 1966. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 68 – Anonymous, Armi's birthday celebrations, 1976. Source: Marimekkoilmiö/Phenomenon Marimekko 1986.

Fig. 69 – Anonymous, Marimekko's designer Fuji Ishimoto during a masquerade in Bökars, year unknown. Source: Parkkinen 2005.

Fig. 70 – Anonymous, The old cow barn in Bökars, year unknown. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 71 – Anonymous, An outbuilding of Bökars converted to a playhouse with foam platforms covered in Marimekko’s textile, year unknown. Source: Gaynor 2005.

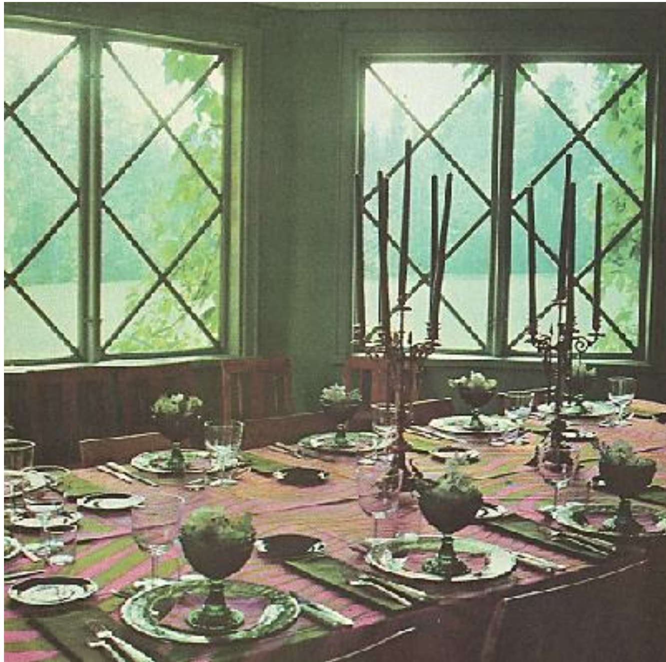


Fig. 72 and 73 – Left: Arto Hallakorpi, A decked table with Marimekko products in Bökars, published in the *Me Naiset* magazine (1964) 43. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland. Right: Anonymous, The bathroom of Bökars wallpapered with *Tamara* paper designed by Maija Isola, year unknown. Source: Parkkinen 2005.

Fig. 74 – Anonymous, A picnic at Bökars in Marimekko style, year unknown. Source: Ratia 1986.

Fig. 75 – Anonymous, The interior of the manor house Bökars published in the *Femina* magazine (1967) 30. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 76 – Arto Hallakorpi, A decked table in Bökars, published in the *Me Naiset* magazine (1964) 43. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 77 – Latest fashion published in the fashion magazine *Evelyn* 12 (1969) 49.

Fig. 78 – Anonymous, *Spring Fashion in Kemi,* 1964, reprinted in *Helsingin Sanomat* on 17 May 1986. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

ULTRA-MARI-KOKOELMA

on tarkoitettu niille 'isoille tytöille' ja muille 'ongelmavartaloisille', jotka — kuten tiedämme — eivät millään löydä itselleen sopivia ja itseään pukevia vaatteita liikkeiden valmisvaatekokoelmista. Sen on Marimekolle suunnitellut nuori Pentti Rinta. Runkona on klassinen paitapuku, joka sopii hyvin kaikenikäisille ja -kokoisille naisille, mutta mukana on myös housuasuja ja maksimekkoja — miksipä isotkin tytöt eivät voisi pukeutua muodikkaasti. Materiaalit on valittu kesää ajatellen: ohutta puuvillaa, popliinia, joustofroteeta. Pukujen koot vaihtelevat mallista riippuen, mutta asteikkoa on 34-numeroisesta kokoon 50.

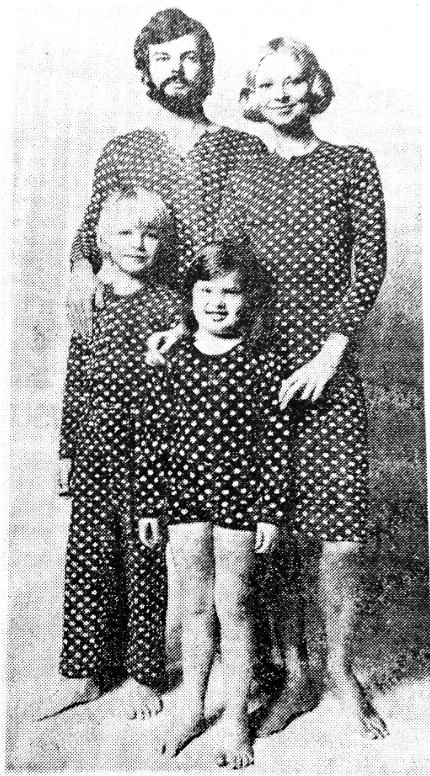
"Vaatteen on oltava luonteva ihmisen jatke", sanoo Pentti Rinta, joka uskoo "ehdottomasti enemmän toimiviin perusvaatteisiin kuin nopeasti vaihtuviin muoti-ideoihin". Tämä ei suinkaan tarkoita että perusvaatteen pitäisi olla ikävä, päinvastoin. Vaihtelua saada aikaan koristeellisilla yksityiskohdilla, joissa muodin muutoksetkin sopivasti heijastuvat. Kokemus on osoittanut, että 'perusvaatetta' yleensä myös myydään hyvin.

Fig. 79 – Anonymous, *The Ultra Mary Collection* published in *Omamarkka* (1971) 2. Source: Sarje 1986.

Fig. 80 – Anonymous, A Mother and daughter in a commercial published in the *Eeva* magazine (1967) 1.

Fig. 81 – Anonymous, Marimekko press show at Vanha Talvitie 3, 1968. Source: Wiikeri 1986.

Fig. 82 – Anonymous, The 20th year show of Marimekko at Kalastajantorppa, Helsinki, 1971. Source: Wiikeri 1986.



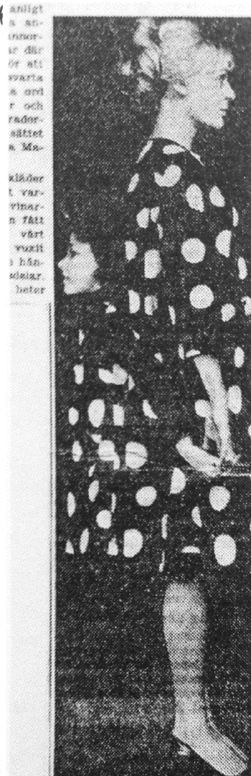


Fig. 83 and 84 – Left: Anonymous, ‘The Mary family’ published in the Finnish newspaper *Uusi Suomi* on 7 February 1971. Source: Sarje 1986. Right: Anonymous, *Mother and Daughter in Marimekko* published in *Strängnäs Tidning* on 17 August 1964. Source: Sarje 1986.

Fig. 85 – Anonymous, Marimekko in the streets, year unknown. Source: Marimekkoilmiö/Phenomenon Marimekko 1986.

NUORET PYRKIVÄT ILOISEEN ASUMISEEN

KERTTU NIILONEN

Hei, lähdetäänpä lenkille! Myös eteisen voi kalustaa varastohyllyin lisäämällä vaatetangon. Matto lattialle, istuintyyny ja Kiiltomato — muuta ei sitten tarvitakaan.

Fig. 86 – Kerttu Niilonen, 'The Young Strive for Happy Living' in *Kaunis koti* (1967) 8.

Fig. 87 – 'At last an interior shop for us' – The commercial of *Talli Skanno*, an interior store for the youth, published in *Kaunis koti* (1967) 7.

Fig. 88 and 89 – Latest fashion published in the fashion magazines *Evelyn* 12 (1969) 49 and *Collection-Roger* (4 (1969) 26.

Fig. 90 – Tony Vaccaro, A photo from the *Bright Spirit of Marimekko* photo shoot published in the *Life* magazine 60 (1966) 25. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 91 – Juhani Pallasmaa and Kristian Gullichsen, The *Moduli 255* Summer House System, 1968-72. Retrieved from https://proyectos4etsa.wordpress.com/2011/11/07/sistema-moduli-kristian-gullichsen-y-juhani-pallasmaa-finlandia-1968/ on 15 May 2016.

Fig. 92 and 93 – Left: Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, The *Frankfurter Küche* (from the entrance), 1926. Right: The *Frankfurter Küche* published in the magazine *Das Werk* in 1927. Retrieved from https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0b/Frankfurterkueche.jpg and http://www.mak.at/jart/prj3/mak/main.jart?rel=de&reserve-mode=reserve&content-id=1343388632778&article_id=1339957568483&media_id=1342703966035 on 15 May 2016.

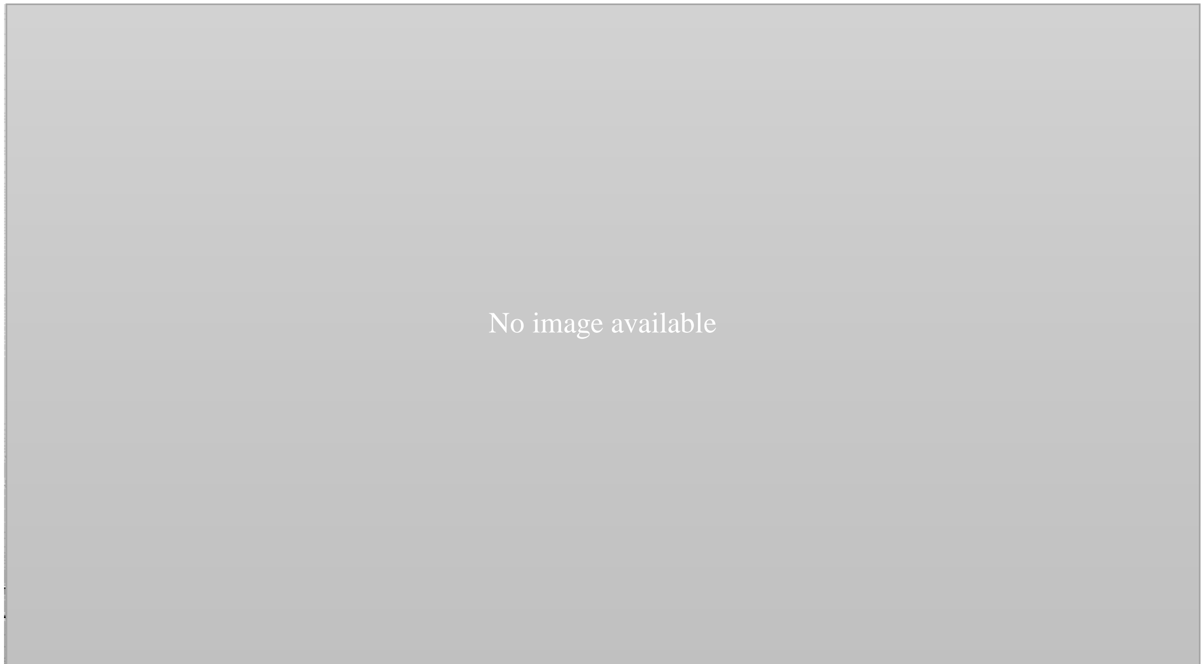


Fig. 94 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, The design of the kitchen of the Experimental House (detail), 1965. Coll. The Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, Finland.

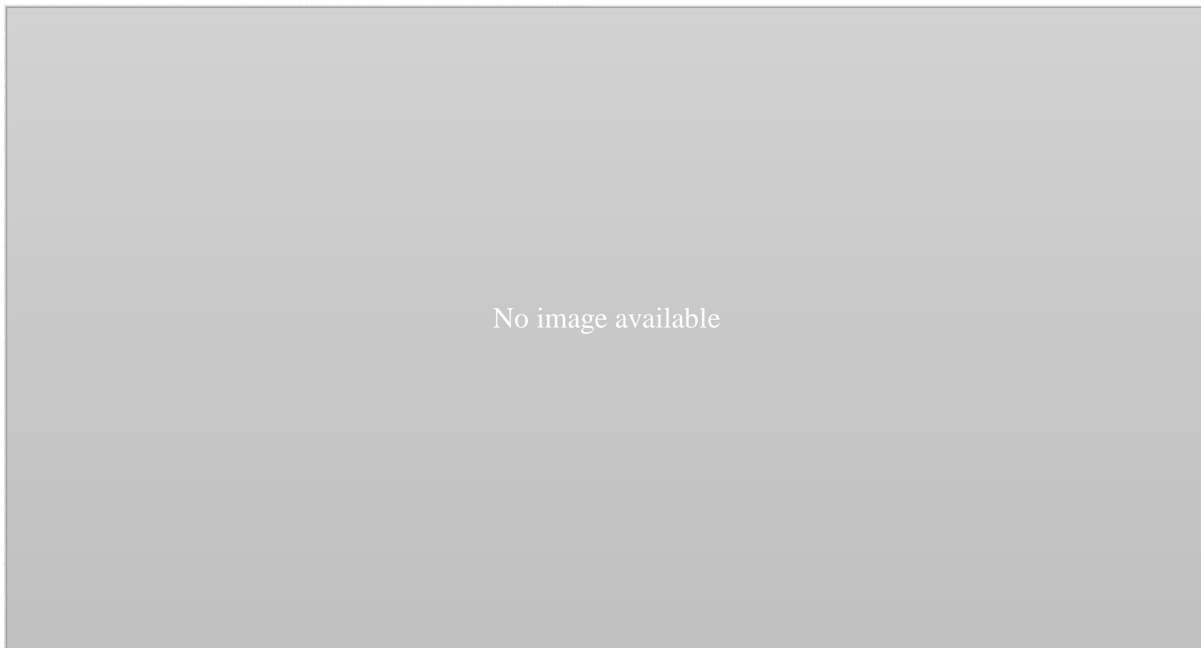


Fig. 95 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, The design of the kitchen of the Experimental House (detail, design of two kitchen drawers), 1965. Coll. The Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 96 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, *The Experimental House* (kitchen detail), 1966. Source: *Marimekko. Fabrics, Fashion, Architecture* 2003.

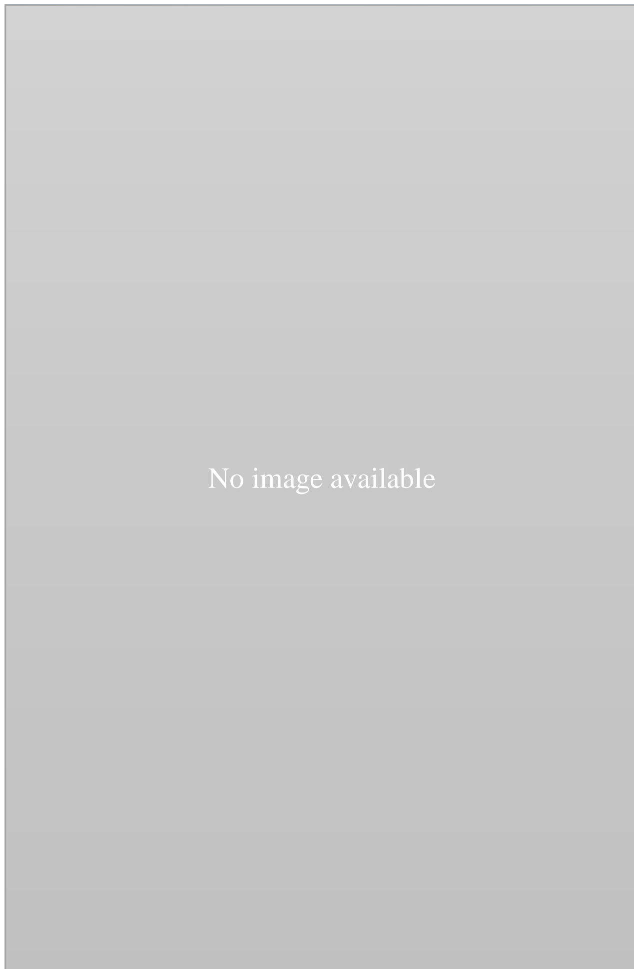


Fig. 97 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, *Integration of Life Funktions,* year unknown. Coll. The Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, Finland.

No image available

Fig. 98 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, *Integration of Life Funktions* (detail), year unknown. Coll. The Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, Finland.

No image available

Fig. 99 and 100 – Left: Aarno Ruusuvuori, The Experimental House (kitchen detail), c. 1966. Original photo by Simo Rista. Coll. The Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, Finland. Right: Alvar Aalto, The *Table 83* and *Chair 69,* c. 1935, birch and bent plywood. Retrieved from http://www.finnishdesignshop.com/furniture-tables-artek-aalto-table-p-5207.html and http://www.finnishdesignshop.com/furniture-chairs-artek-aalto-chair-white-laminate-p-7687.html on 15 May 2016.

Fig. 101 – Aarno Ruusuvuori, *The Experimental House* (interior) published in the *Femina* magazine (1967) 43. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 102 – Simo Rista, The Black-and-white photos of the Experimental House published in the *Arkkitehti* magazine (1966) 7-8.

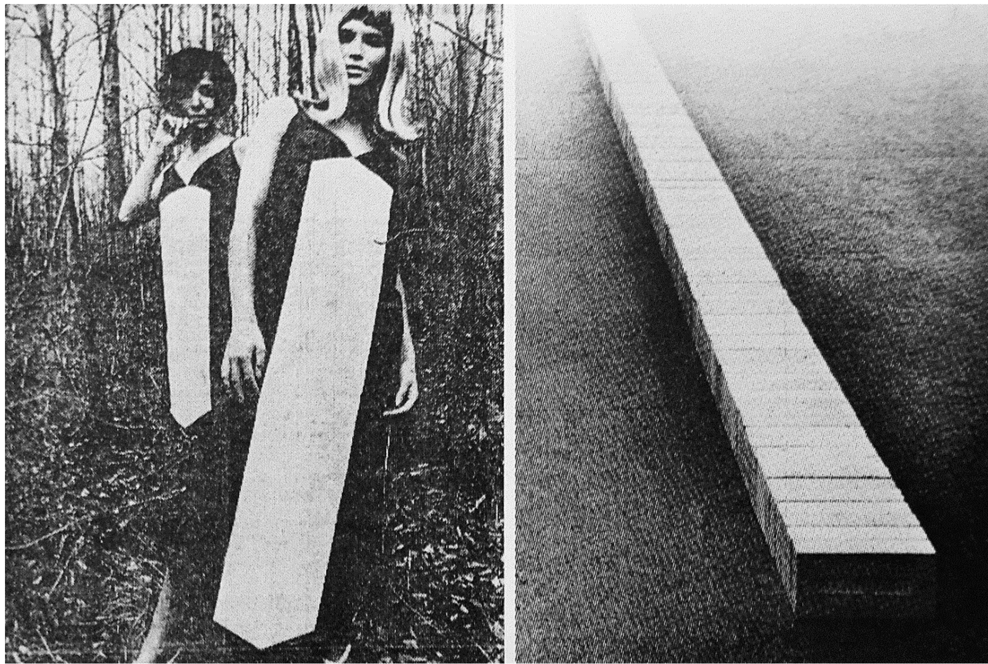


Fig. 103 – Marimekko of the 1960s and Carl Andre, *Lever,*1966, 137 firebricks, 11,4 x 22,5 x 883,9 cm (installed), coll. National Gallery of Canada. Source: Sarje 1986.

Svart och vitt på marimekkovis

Marimekko är vid det här laget världsberömt för sina praktfulla färger och djärva mönster. Men jämsides med denna färgstarka linje har man alltid på detta företag förstått att odla svart-vitt på sitt alldeles speciella vis.

Här t. ex. en kostym med lång jacka i kraftig bomull i svart-vitt. Jackan knäppes svart da vita randen följa ärmen upp över axeln. Framförvsrand svarta rand avslutas med et ficklock fram på rätta ställe för att markera avslutning på en bred vit rand på framstycket.

Flickan i bakgrunden har kor bredrandig kjol i svart-vit plus högholsad och långärmad skjortblus i smalare randning. En korrekt, fräsch vardags

Fig. 104 – Marimekko of the 1960s and Barnett Newman, *Black Fire I,* 1961, oil on canvas, 289,5 x 213,3 cm, private collection. Source: Sarje 1986.

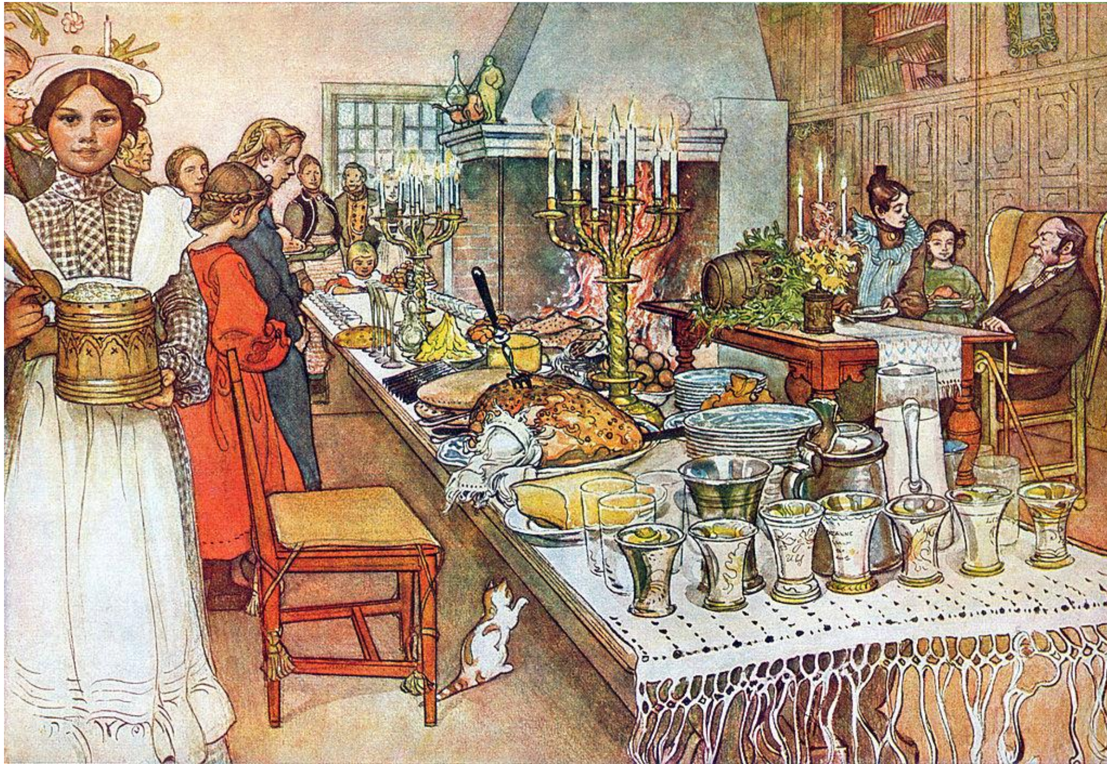


Fig. 105 – Carl Larsson, *Christmas Eve,* 1904-05, watercolour on paper, dimensions unknown. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christmas_Eve#/media/File:Julaftonen_by_Carl_Larsson_1904_edit.jpg on 08 May 2016.

JOULUTUNNELMAA ARMI JA V. RATIANPERHEPIIRISSÄ MEIDÄN AIKANAMME

Fig. 106 – Jussi Pohjakallio, *Contemporary Christmas Atmosphere at the Ratia's Family*, published in *Hopeapeili* (1964) 12. Source: Aav 2003.

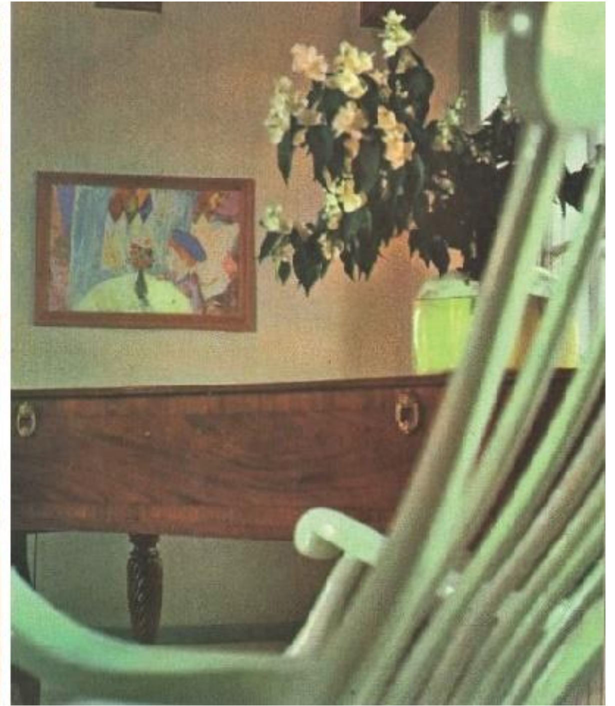


Fig. 107 and 108 – Left: Carl Larsson, *Lisbeth Reading,* 1904, watercolour on paper, 60,0 x 76,0 cm, coll. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden. Right: Arto Hallakorpi, A detail of the interior of the manor house Bökars, published in the *Me Naiset* magazine (1964) 43. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 109 and 110 – Left: Carl Larsson, *Daddy's Room*, 1899, watercolour on paper, 32,0 x 43,0 cm, coll. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden. Right: Anonymous, The white guest room in the manor house Bökars, year unknown. Source: Gaynor 1995.

Fig. 111 and 112 – Left: Arto Hallakorpi, The green guest room in the manor house Bökars published in the *Me Naiset* magazine (1964) 43. Right: Anonymous, The Art Nouveau tiled hearth in the green guest room (detail), published in the *Femina* magazine (1967) 30. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

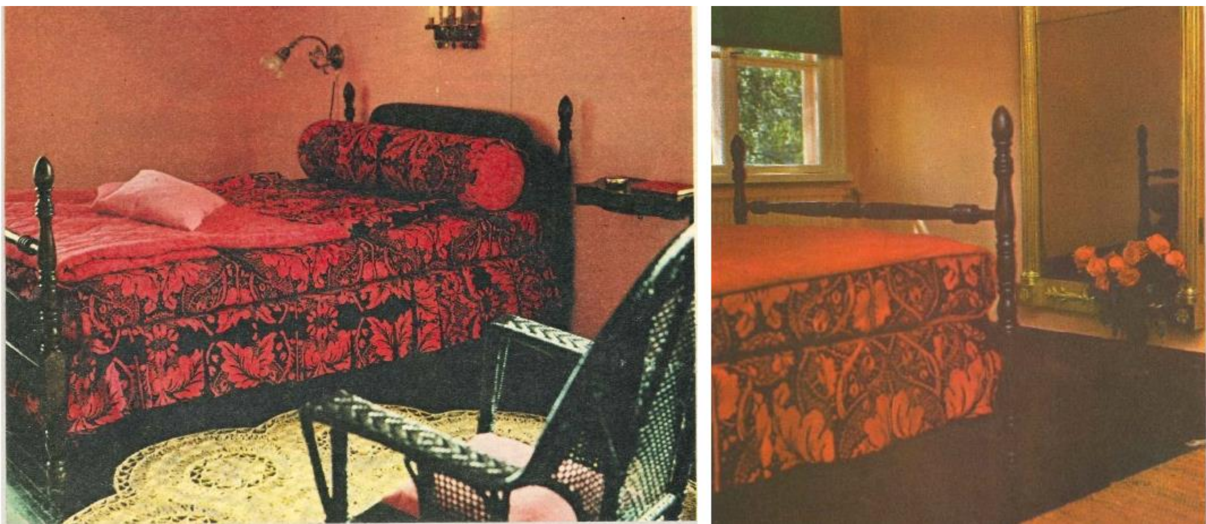


Fig. 113 and 114 – Left: Anonymous, The red guest room known as 'Bordel' in the manor house Bökars, published in the *Året runt* magazine (1967) 7. Right: Arto Hallakorpi, A detail of the red guest room published in the *Me Naiset* magazine (1964) 43. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 115 – Anonymous, The white guest room known as *the White Lady* in the manor house Bökars, year unknown. Source: Gaynor 1995.

Fig. 116 – Arto Hallakorpi, The blue guest room in the manor house Bökars, published in the *Me Naiset* magazine (1964) 43. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 117 – Carl Larsson, *A Day of Celebration*, 1898, watercolour on paper, 32,0 x 43,0 cm, coll. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden.

Fig. 118 – Carl Larsson, *Breakfast in the Open*, 1912, technique and dimensions unknown. Retrieved from http://www.wikiart.org/en/carl-larsson/breakfast-in-the-open-1913 on 15 May 2016.

Fig. 119 – Anonymous, Gathering at Bökars, 1975. Coll. Janis and Helga Kravis. Source: McCabe 2013.

Fig. 120 – Anonymous, Armi and Ristomatti Ratia dancing in Bökars, 1976. Source: Saarikoski 1977.

Fig. 121 – Anonymous, A spelman, Armi Ratia and Tarmo Manni in Bökars, year unknown. Source: Tanttu 1968/2012.

Fig. 122 and 123 – Left: Anonymous, Armi's birthday at the manor house Bökars, c. 1976. Retrieved from http://www.kodinkuvalehti.fi/artikkeli/lue/ihmiset/armi_ratian_tytar_tunsi_kodinhoitajan_paremmin_kuin_aitinsa on 08 May 2016. Right: Carl Larsson, A Day of Celebration (detail), 1898, watercolour on paper, 32,0 x 43,0 cm, coll. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden.

Fig. 124 and 125 – Left: Carl Larsson, *Christmas Eve* (detail), 1904-05, watercolour on paper, dimensions unknown. Right: Tony Vaccaro, A model and two 'Marimekko maids' in a picture published in the *Bright Spirit of Marimekko* photo shoot in the *Life* magazine 60 (1966) 25. Archives the Design Museum Helsinki, Finland.

Fig. 126 – Anonymous, 'Marimekko maids' serving during celebrations in Bökars, c. 1964. Source: Tirkkonen 1999.

Fig. 127 – Anonymous, ‘Marimekko maids’ listening to instructions from the adjutant of the president of the Republic of Finland, 1975. Source: Marimekkoilmiö/Phenomenon Marimekko 1986.

Fig. 128 – Anonymous, The manor house Bökars (interior), year unknown. Source: Gaynor 1995.

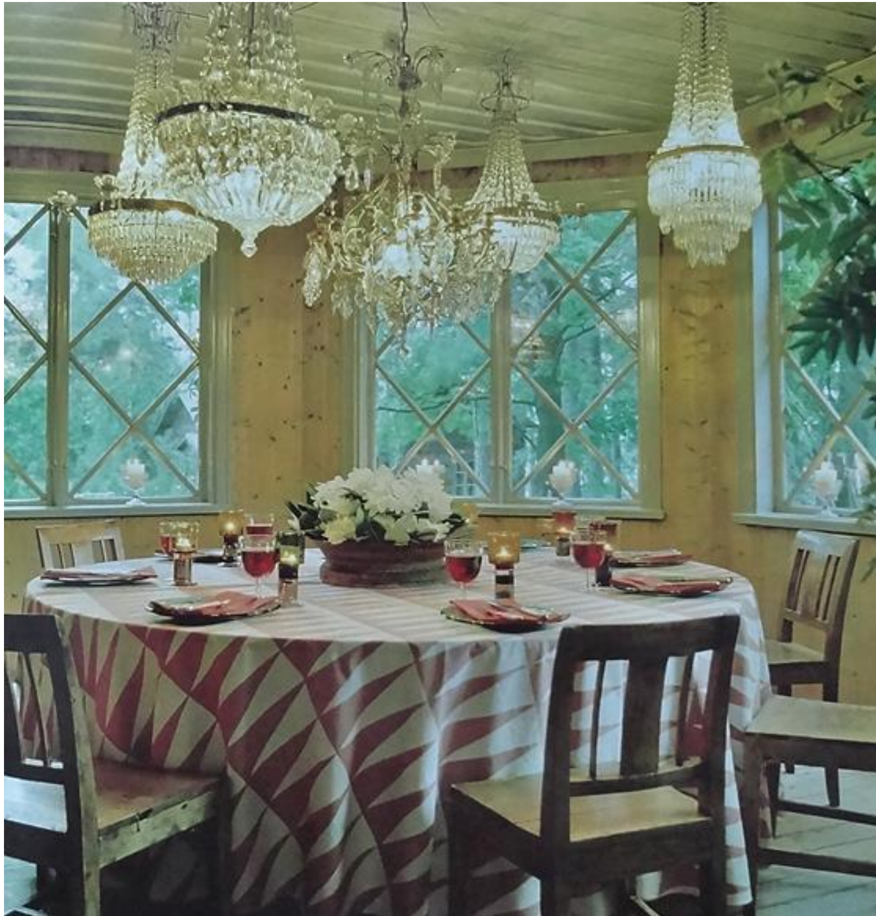


Fig. 129 – Anonymous, The so-called *Chandelier room* in the manor house of Bökars, year unknown. Source: Gaynor 1995.

Fig. 130 – Anonymous, The manor house of Bökars (interior), year unknown. Source: Gaynor 1995.

Fig. 131 – Anonymous, Armi Ratia and Kerttu Mäntykivi in Bökars on Armi's birthday morning, year unknown. Source: Tanttu 1968/2012.

Fig. 132 – Anonymous, *The Church of Transfiguration*, 1714, Kizhi Island, the Republic of Karelia, Russia. Retrieved from http://lh6.ggpht.com/-6tELJtrl8C8/Ty-zanycGZI/AAAAAAAAUXo/hhsMQHSQVpI/kizhi-pogost-7%25255B13%25255D.jpg?imgmax=800 on 15 May 2016.

Fig. 133 and 134 – Left: Anonymous, Jörn Donner and Armi Ratia in Bökars, year unknown. Source: Parkkinen 2005. Right: Ilya Sergeyevich Glazunov, *Russian Beauty*, 1968, mixed media on wood, 113,0 x 72,0 cm, private collection.

Fig. 135 – Anonymous, The interior of Armi's grandfather's Karelian log house *Siikavaara*, year unknown. Source: Gaynor 1995.

Fig. 136 – Anonymous, The interior of Armi's grandfather's Karelian log house *Siikavaara*, year unknown. Source: Gaynor 1995.

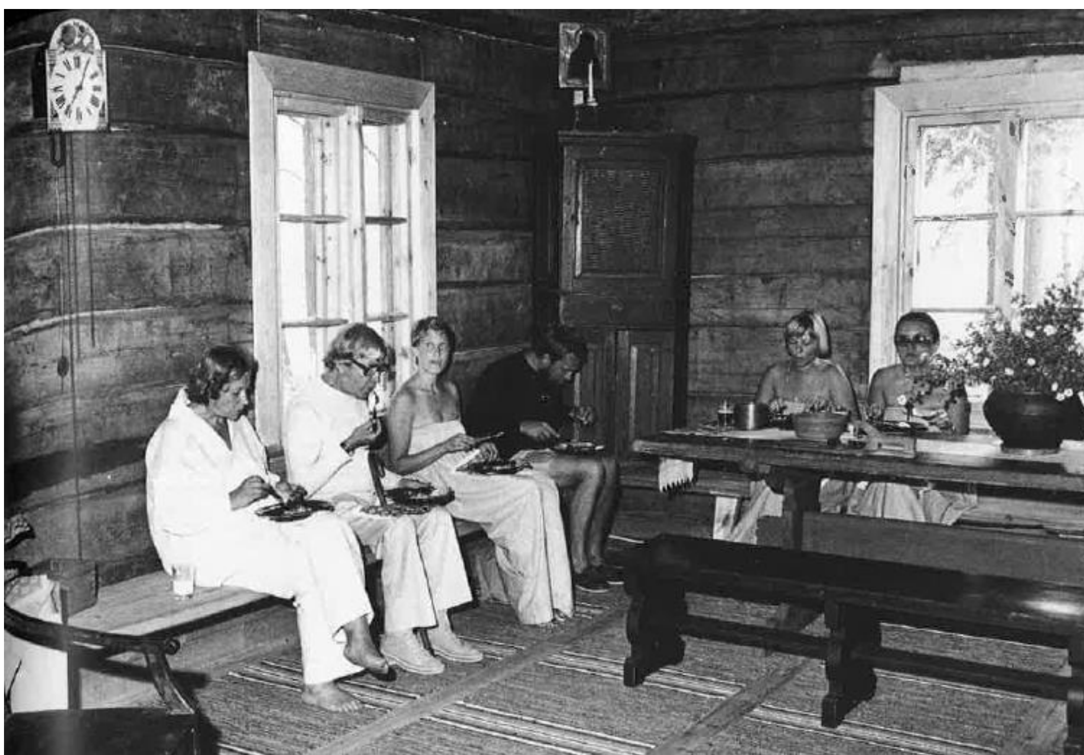


Fig. 137 – Anonymous, Armi Ratia and guests having a dinner in the *Siikavaara* building (the Russian icon hangs above the cabin in the corner), year unknown. Source: Tirkkonen 1999.

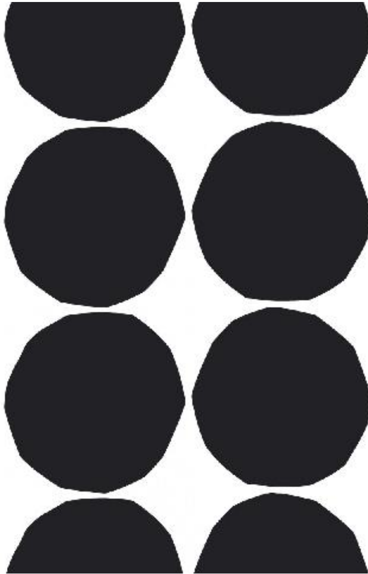


Fig. 138 and 139 – Left: Maija Isola, *Isot Kivet* (Big Stones), 1956, hand-screened print on cotton, manufacturer Printex-Marimekko, Helsinki, Finland. Retrieved from https://www.marimekko.com/fi_fi/1019131-001-isot-kivet-paksu-puuvilla on 19 May 2016. Right: Maija Isola, *Hutjukka,* 1960, hand-screened print on cotton, manufacturer Printex-Marimekko, Helsinki, Finland. Retrieved from http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-q9FZ-oHanUg/UCAXueNp2LI/AAAAAAAAE8s/1Ho09govmvA/s1600/IMG_3873.JPG on 19 May 2016.

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Appendix

I. A Table Illustrating the Contrasts Between the Two 'Mary Houses'

	The Manor House Bökars	**The Experimental House**	
Traditionalism	A traditional wood construction of rural classicism	Based on modular prefabrication, a quite new phenomenon in the production of single-family buildings in the 1960s	Innovation
Proximity to Nature	Located to a rural environment	Designed for an urban environment of the Mari Village	Urbanism
Unique Art	One of a kind building	Designed for mass production	Mass Production
Artistic	The creative use of buildings in different functions than originally intended; the extensive use of Marimekko products	Focused in fulfilling the needs of the inhabitants	Functional
Festive	A summer accommodation especially known for its festivities	Represented living in an everyday, domestic environment	Everyday
Organic	Characterized by organic, natural forms such as wooden walls and furniture, wild flowers, stones and hay in the interior	Dominantly geometric in both its exterior and interior	Geometric
Romantic	Contained elements that do not have a logical reasoning, such as the cow barn converted to a dinner room; Also romantic in the use of materials (e.g. lace-covered beds) and decorations like candles and flowers	The design approach of Ruusuvuori is characterized by rational thinking, illustrated especially in the design of kitchen and storage spaces	Rational
Richness of Form	Rich of different buildings, shapes, colour schemes and interiors	Characterized by straightforwardness and soberness; functionality is most important	Asceticism
Finnishness	Contained 'Essential Finnishness' in the form of the Karelian log house *Siikavuori*	Showed influences of the West European Modern Movement	Internationalism