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Culturing Goat Milk:
Estonian Goat Milk Farming and Artisanal Made Products
Master's Project

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¹ Goat in Estonian.

Quotes

For me, it is always part of my holiday to go and work my way along the shelf in the local artisan bakery with its breads, savoury tartlets, pastries and cakes. It is soul food: one of those things that tells you about a place and the history of a place and its people.

— Paul Hollywood

Giving small-scale artisanal food producers a voice, as well as support and skill-training, is critical. If we don't, few people will have an appreciation of diverse, nutritious, delicious and quality food.

— Bodil Cornell

I think food, culture, people and landscape are all absolutely inseparable.

— Anthony Bourdain

Introduction

This master's project is an exhibition titled *Culturing Cheese: Estonian Goat Milk Farming and Artisanal Made Products*² and is composed of two key elements: visual representation (film photography) and auditory components (soundscapes). It was showcased at the *Eesti Rahva Muuseum*³ in the *Rahvakultuuri teabekeskuse ruum*.⁴ The content of the project focuses on the artisanal food production of goat cheese at three different Estonian goat farms and is presented in the format of four themes with a supplementary textual component.⁵ The raison d'être of the exhibition is to offer insight into the experiences and stories of the three different farmers from the perspective of a foreigner, and to shed light on the complex role that the artisanal products play in the farmers' lives. This project presents a diversified portrayal through the utilization of both photos and soundscapes, creating a more comprehensive way for visitors to engage with the experiences illustrated. The overarching importance is to facilitate awareness of how these actors play an important role in cultural heritage through the means of food. The three Estonian goat farms and main research interlocutors that this project is centered on are Ole from OleMari talu, Kersti and Georg from Hõbeda kitsefarm, and Anne-Mai from 7 Kitsetalle OÜ.

These farms were chosen from a compiled list of goat farms found throughout Estonia that make artisanal goods from goat's milk. The process of selection was supported through a set of criteria which created the framework and scope of the project and are as follows: those who moved to the countryside from Tallinn (an urban city), producers of artisanal food products, willing to communicate in English, and are small scale farms with less than 100 milking goats. These were the most apposite aspects due to a few reasons. First, as a non-native Estonian speaker, the challenges and limitations were mitigated through the selection of farmers who were willing to communicate in English. Secondly, a more narrow scope of three small-scale farms offered an opportunity to further explore and contextualize their experiences through photographs and the soundscapes. And lastly, to understand the correlation between the shift from urban to rural setting, and creation of artisanal goods.

² Estonian: *Eesti kitsepiima tootmine ning käsitööna valmivad tooted*

³ English: Estonian National Museum, hereby will be referred to as ERM

⁴ English: Room of the Folk Culture Information Center, hereby will be referred to as RTR

⁵ See Appendix 1

While all three farms share commonalities, each also embodies their own unique aspects such as motives for choosing this lifestyle, the region occupied to even the goods that they produce. The three farms are located in Central, North-East and Eastern Estonia and will be further detailed in the following chapter.

The original cynosure of this project was solely about artisanal food products as an expression of cultural heritage, but as the research continued, questions arose that irrevocably altered the way the food was being perceived and the boundaries it operates in and around. When the focus was redirected from being only about the food to the larger framework, it revealed tension and interaction between different themes. These themes proved to be vital aspects that are situated in the larger concept of artisanal food, as it signified that the artisanal food is meant to operate as an agent to communicate the embedded values, morals and beliefs of the farmers. The four themes that were observed, and presented in the exhibition, are:

- the relationship between the animals and farmers;
- the taskscapes within the landscape;
- the justification for dedicating oneself to goat keeping;
- the artisanal process as a *whole* rather than just the final product produced.

Through these different themes, the exhibition aims to portray how the process and connection between the themes reflect and are promulgated through the food itself, while considering its cultural significance in Estonia, while also maintaining that the goats themselves may not be so much. Food, as this exhibition displays, presents relevance and importance in all realms of our lives and is communicated and supplemented by our beliefs and morals through our actions and choices.

To contextualize the overarching themes and explanation for the choice of topic, I first draw attention to broadening the concept of **food culture** from only recognizing the food itself. While this sentiment is true— that certain foods can be attributed to specific cultures or be embedded with cultural nuances— there are other notions centered around the products themselves that can be considered ‘food culture.’ Some examples would be the traditions of growing, harvesting, and eating that also fall in the jurisdiction of food culture. This is demonstrated through this project by showing how the process of creating artisanal goods are also an integral part of food culture. Secondly, **the artisanal** as a concept, mapped out by Peter Jackson in *Food Words: Essays in Culinary Culture*, show three distinctive factors for defining what could be considered artisanal: specific food products, distinct means of

production, and/or a particular ethical disposition towards the process and end product (Jackson 2015, 27). This gives a general framework of artisanal foods, however, these three factions do not operate separately from one another and can overlap, or be in tension with one another. Secondly, “in the contemporary usage, artisanal products often involve elements of the folksy or contrived...much of what now passes for tradition may, in fact, be quite recently invented” (as cited by Jackson 2015, 25-6) which calls upon the concept of **heritage**. Angela Meah draws on Jacinthe Bessière’s suggestion where “the tradition[al] practices that contribute to a sense of ‘heritage’ are simultaneously part of the present, while at the same time holding promises for the future. Heritage, she says, can therefore be viewed more as a social construction than something fossilized and unchanged that is ‘handed down’” (as cited by Meah 2015, 229). For the scope of the project and limited linguistic capabilities of myself as a foreigner, I chose to not actively seek out the economic aspects. This is not to say that it is not important, in fact I believe it is paramount, but navigating the Estonian agricultural policies, government initiatives and so forth would have been prohibitive for a non-native speaker and would require a different skill set.

Historically,⁶ in the Medieval Period, goats did not hold a prestigious position in Estonia as they were overshadowed by the husbandry of sheep, cattle and pigs (Põltsam-Jürjo 2013, 23-4) and similarly to other countries, there were times when the goat was considered to be the “poor man’s cow” (cf. Hinson 2014, 42). There is a lack of literary sourcing that indicates a cheesemaking culture, as the wealthy class typically imported cheeses (Põltsam-Jürjo 2013, 28). During the 17th century, in Northern Estonian manors, goat keeping was the least developed branch of animal husbandry (7-8%) compared to that of pigs (12-13%), sheep and bovine (26%) (Kahk et al. 1992, 344). However, in the 18th century, goat keeping became more popular since the caprines demanded less pasture lands and could sustain themselves on lower grade landscapes compared to larger bovine and sheep (Moora 2007, 372). In the 18th century, Estonian Swedes living on the larger islands and northern coasts of Estonia made cheese derived from sheep and goat’s milk but it wasn’t till the 19th century that locally made cheeses became more prominent in manors and cities (Bardone et al. 2016, 30). Cheese was generally absent from the Estonian table in earlier times due to low production of cattle’s milk, which generally was for daily consumption rather than for

⁶ This information was collected with the help of my supervisor, Ester Bardone, and later translated by Johan Uibopuu. It should be noted that this section would not have been possible without their aid.

fermentation or aging; in southeast Estonia fresh curd cheese *sõir* was made as a regional speciality (Ränk 2000, 296-97).

Russian coastal villages at the banks of Lake Peipsi, compared to other parts of Estonia, have more records of goat keeping (Moora 1964, 154). The newspapers and magazines from 1920s-1930s demonstrate that goat's milk gained popularity in this period with the development of nutritional science. During the Soviet regime, goats were not considered a viable part of the State economy but due to hardships, particularly during the 1940-1950s, goats became vital in private subsidiary holdings in both rural and urban spaces. In ERM, there are photos from the Soviet period depicting urban and rural folk keeping goats. The official statistics shows that goat keeping has gained popularity since the 1990s, where approximately 1,000-1,500 goats were kept in Estonia, 2004 with an approximation of 2,900 goats and in 2018, a record of 5,200 goats, with the highest number of goats in Pärnumaa, Võrumaa, and Ida-Virumaa (Eesti Statistika 2020). Daniel W. Gade notes that goat's milk is primarily prized for making cheeses as its added value draws in the interests of consumers (Gade 2000, 534).

The following sections of this written component is partitioned into four different sections. The first chapter focuses on the background and stories of the three goat farms gathered during the fieldwork period and discussing the artisanal goat milk products made. The second chapter details the usage of the theoretical concept of taskscape, as introduced by Tim Ingold, in the fieldwork and project. The third chapter details the methodological concepts of visual ethnography and sonic ethnography with subchapters of self-analysis of its application in the project and a self-reflection on the fieldwork conducted. The last chapter breaks down the process of the exhibition, from the compilation of the components to the final stage, the vernissage of the exhibition and response by the public. Concluding remarks reiterate the aim of the exhibition and its topic with some considerations and recommendations for future research and projects.

1. Three Goat Farms Presented at the Exhibition

OleMari talu⁷ is situated in a town called Palamuse, Jõgeva County, in eastern Estonia. Ole Hütt is in charge of the goats and artisanal goats milk products while his wife, Marika, solely focuses on making natural cosmetics. Ole was the primary interlocutor though his youngest child sometimes shared his stories as well. Ole is a 5th generation Tallinner but at the young age of 10 he already decided that he wanted to live in the countryside. This happened around 20 years ago, in 1999, and their first tribe of 25 milking goats came in 2014. Previously, he worked in the lumber industry but now mainly works as a forestry teacher at Luua Metsanduskool (vocational forestry school) and does goat keeping and artisanal production on the side. At the present time, Ole does not sell his artisanal products to stores and restaurants as his business does not meet all the governments' qualifications. Instead, he operates his business directly, allowing consumers to reach out to him through multiple platforms such as Facebook, his Weebly blog, or email as well as attending the different events and fairs held in Estonia. Ole is also part of the Põltsamaa OTT association.⁸ For the most part, Ole is the sole employee from the care of the goats to the artisanal goods production. His values and beliefs about the care of animals, the environment and healthful foods are *imbued* in his products which allow the consumers to consume the “larger values they [the consumer] believe in, and whose story they can live vicariously through in a few bites” (Cope 2014, 118).

7 Kitsetalle OÜ is situated in central Estonia in Järva County in a tiny village called Sagevere. Five years ago, in 2015, Anne-Mai Sutt, her husband Dave, and their young son, David, moved from Tallinn and the goats shortly followed. In fact, Anne-Mai laughed when she informed me that she had gotten the goats three days after they had moved to their current home. While Dave works outside of the home, as an electrician, Anne-Mai works with the goats and the other animals on their property, making artisanal goods. She also works part-time at *Talutoidu Ait*,⁹ in Viljandi, which is co-owned with three other small farmers, offering natural and organic products. In Tallinn, they lived in an apartment and Anne-Mai worked with horses on Muhu island. Much like Ole, Anne-Mai also works individually as

⁷ English: farm (*tal*)

⁸ OTT is *Otse Tootjalt Tarbijale*, From Farmer to Consumer

⁹ English: Farm food barn

“the goats are my madness.” She, too, is the sole goat keeper where she cares and oversees the production in its entirety. She hopes to wean off of making goat cheese and focus on producing goat’s butter instead; “there’s a lot of people making cheese now and it’s not hard to make. If I make goat’s butter, then that’s more special.” Anne-Mai further noted how shifting her focus would create another niche marketing opportunity. Because Anne-Mai, like Ole, does not have a standardized cheese kitchen that the government requires for the sale to third parties, she sells directly to consumers, some of whom drive to her home to pick up fresh goat’s milk. Other economic opportunities for her lie in events such as *Avatud Talude Päev*.¹⁰ This event is an initiative by the Ministry of Rural Affairs that facilitates awareness for farmers across Estonia by allowing them to showcase their farms, experiences, and sell their artisanal products. In the summer of 2019, I had the opportunity to assist Anne-Mai during the event. It proved to be enlightening in the sense that I was able to observe how Anne-Mai presented herself, the labor, the land and the goats alongside her artisanal products.

Up north, in Lääne-Viru County, **Hõbeda kitsefarm** is run by Georg and Kersti Lužkov. They originally grew up in the area but lived in Tallinn for a number of years prior to moving back. Georg graduated from TalTech University with a degree in construction engineering and Kersti has a degree in chemistry from the University of Tartu. Kersti still works part-time in the local area as a chemist but Georg is retired and happily dedicates his time to the upkeep of the property and the goats. They moved back to the area about 14 years ago, in 2005, and started goat keeping in 2015. Hõbeda’s story differs a bit from these two goat farms in the sense that they have obtained their governmental certification and have an established cheese kitchen. Because of this, Georg and Kersti are allowed to sell to larger stores such as Rimi and BioMarket as well as to restaurants like Vihula Manor Restaurant and even at the *Hää Eesti Asi*,¹¹ in the Tallinn airport. The two of them work together for some tasks such as milking and the maintenance of the goats' pens while individually, Georg oversees the maintenance of the property and Kersti is the main artisan. They milk twice a day and Kersti makes cheeses twice a week which are aged for two months. This sets their products apart from the other two farms, as Georg and Kersti do not offer fresh or soft cheeses to the consumers and solely focus on semi-hard goat cheese, as these are limited

¹⁰ English: Open Farm Day

¹¹ An Estonian handicraft foods and goods store

locally made products in Estonia. They've also created another niche product of goat's milk ice cream and comes in two flavors: sea buckthorn and chocolate peppermint.

All three farms have a tribe that consists of about 23-30 milking goats. Ole's tribe stands at 25 milk goats and 12 bucks, all of which are Thuringian breed. Ole smiled when I had asked him how his journey with goats began and simply stated that "I went to Adri-Peedo's farm and I fell in love with the goats there." In the spring of 2014, Ole brought home the first tribe. The single lane dirt road leading to Ole's house is flanked by two fields, rye on the left and an open field on the right. The home is centered in the middle of the property with open pastures behind it and, across the unpaved road, a fenced pasture for the billy goats, pocketed with forests on the near horizon. At the time of my fieldwork, the summer of 2019, Ole had been working with goats for five years and spoke of valuing his relationship with the intelligent goats along with fostering a self-sustaining cycle to fit into the vision he has. The countryside and self-sufficient lifestyle seemed to have called out to Ole and perfectly suits his disposition, beliefs and outlook on life. On the first day that we met, he took me on a small tour of the property where we walked to the open pasture where the goats grazed and foraged. Ole casually detailed the property with particular attention to the forest patch and the variety of activities and resources it offers. The diverse landscape, from open pastures to the forests, embodies Ole's ideals and allow him to express these tangibly. The land itself offers different values such as "economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital" (Bonow and Ryrkönen 2013, 82-3).

At 7 Kitsetalle, the self-sufficiency and the value of working with the environment and animals throughout the farm is also exemplified. The animals are, in fact, one of the driving forces behind moving to the countryside from Tallinn. City life proved to be suffocating for Anne-Mai and she lamented over the lack of privacy and space she had and that life in the city was all about "work, pay, eat, pay taxes." Other driving factors to move also revolved around giving her child an opportunity to grow up surrounded by nature, the knowledge and act of being able to source food independently or from other local farmers. Anne-Mai proudly shared an anecdote of the time where her child asked her "who grew the pumpkins" that were sitting in the backseat of her car. She expressed that children tend to say that food comes from grocery stores rather than knowing and referring to the actual provenance of the food. In contrast to these children, her then 6 year old son recognized that food comes from a specific place with an actual person behind the labor and production. To

contextualize this notion, Nina-Marie Lister rightly stated that “... a lack of the most basic awareness of food as part of nature —of its sowing and growing, from seed to harvest; of time and place, seasons and soils— the elemental knowledge of what we eat is disappearing...On the table, seasons no longer matter; nor does distance traveled, cost, or the farmer’s name” (2007, 150).

Anne-Mai’s has 23 milking goats whom she adores and is demonstrated by the way she talks sweetly to them, the secret treats that she hides in the pockets of her jacket, and the loving pats that she gives them while she goes about her tasks. Goats were the chosen livestock animal for Anne-Mai, as well as Ole, because they’re small enough to care for on a small parcel of land in comparison to larger bovine and also offer a niche economic opportunity for the farmers through their milk. “They’re also smart. Very smart; they’re like dogs and they have good personalities. Unlike sheep, they’re too stupid for me and I have three. I thought I could try and see what they’re like but, no, goats are better.” Compared to sheep and cattle, goats also offer higher yield in milk production, need less herding, and are more inclined to have a homing instinct (Gade 2000, 534). With the products that she produces, Anne-Mai also enacts a reconnection with her community members and consumers as exemplified at Talutoidu Ait. Anne-Mai enjoys the steady flow of repeat and loyal clients who come in and chat about the products offered, their lives and thus foster a sense of community through these interactions.

Georg and Kersti Lužkov felt naturally inclined to move back to the countryside for a change of lifestyle and the quiet solitude; Georg believes that the older generation generally desires to be in the countryside and that it gave them a sense of returning to their roots. It was only recently, in the last five years, that the Lužkov’s got their first tribe of goats because of the sui generis of goats; they are clever, funny and attentive for livestock animals that also provide economic value. They first started with a smaller tribe of 12 goats but has since grown to 33 milking goats. They selected the Swedish Landrace and Anglo-Nubian breeds for their high milk production, percentage of fat in the milk, and docile temperaments.

Artisanal cheese, as defined by the American Cheese Society, is a handmade product made with “as little mechanization as possible” and is a representation and manifestation of an individual’s skilled craft (as cited by Jackson 2015, 25). As Heather Paxson explained, the people who create these handicraft products are not necessarily recognized as artists but rather, artisans, denoting a sense of physical labor and kinesthetic knowledge in the creation

of the product (Paxson 2010, 84). The three farms overlap in common artisanal products but also differ. In the case of OleMari, they've branched out to smoke some cheeses, while 7 Kitsetalle offers general, unostentatious products. Hõbeda recognized the need to offer products other farms do not, hence the production of aged cheeses and goat's milk ice cream. The chart below has been compiled of the different products made and sold on their websites. There is also the concept of "good" and "bad" goat's milk and is a fallacious one though not unfounded. Goat's milk can adopt a musky and heady flavor when the goats are fed silage, are unhappy, or a result of poor sanitation and procedure such as leaving the goat's milk out too long before chilling it. To mitigate these issues, all three farms' goats roam freely to forage and graze, chill the milk immediately and implement rigorous sanitation and safety measures in all stages of production.

Chart Depicting the Different Artisanal Products Made at Each Farm¹²

OleMari Talu	7 Kitsetalle OÜ	Hõbeda Kitsefarm
Praejuust Piparmündiga <i>Fried cheese with peppermint</i>	Kitsepiim <i>Goat's milk</i>	Küüslaugu poolkõva juust <i>Garlic flavored semi-hard cheese</i>
Praejuust Salveiga <i>Fried cheese with sage</i>	Kitsepiimast juust õlis kuubikutena tüümiani-küüslaugu <i>Cubed goat's cheese in oil with thyme and garlic</i>	Lambaläätsedega poolkõva juust <i>Semi-hard cheese with fenugreek seeds</i>
Praejuust Punega <i>Fried cheese with oregano</i>	Grilljuust <i>Grilled cheese</i>	Sinepiseemnetega poolkõva juust <i>Semi-hard cheese with mustard seeds</i>
Delikatess suitsujuust <i>Delicacy smoked cheese</i>	Grilljuust tšilli ja ürdisegu <i>Grilled cheese with chili and herbs</i>	Halloumi juust <i>Halloumi cheese</i>
Suitsujuust kõõmnetega <i>Smoked cheese with caraway seeds</i>	Kitsepiimast maitsestatamata jogurt <i>Goat milk yogurt, plain</i>	Laagerdunud kitsepiimajuust erinevate lisanditega <i>Matured goat milk cheese with different additives</i>
Suitsujuust lambaläätsedega <i>Smoked cheese with fenugreek seeds</i>	Kitsepiimavõi <i>Goat milk butter</i>	Astelpaju kitsepiimajäätis <i>Sea buckthorn goats milk ice cream</i>
Toorjuust tavaline, lambalääts või kõõmnelisandiga		Šokolaadi & piparmündi kitsepiimajäätis

¹² Information is sourced from: olemari.weebly.com/tootevalik, <https://www.facebook.com/kitsetalu/>, <http://kitsefarm.ee/tooted>

Translation provided by Johan Uibopuu

<i>Regular cream cheese with fenugreek or mustard seeds</i>		<i>Chocolate and peppermint goats milk ice cream</i>
Riccotta kohupiim <i>Ricotta curd cheese</i>		
Jogurt <i>Yogurt</i>		
Toor kitsepiim <i>Raw unpasteurized goat milk</i>		
Koorekomm <i>Caramelized candy</i>		
Soolakas karamell <i>Salty caramel</i>		

When asked about expansion, all three farms unified in their resounding answer of ‘no;’ the desire to increase production is not in the current plans or future objectives. For Hõbeda, they refer to yearly and five-year evaluations but ultimately do not want to increase since Georg likes “working with the animals and if we were to grow bigger then we wouldn’t be able to have the close relationships [with the animals] that we do right now.” Therefore, the ethos behind the enterprise is to enjoy the *process*: working with the goats, the land, and the making of artisanal products. Though each farms’ justifications for expansion differ from the other, they nonetheless reiterate and support the same ideology that enjoyment is embedded in the process. All three of the farms fall under the European Union definition of micro-enterprises, where there are “fewer than 10 persons and whose annual turnover and/or annual balance sheet total does not exceed EUR 2 million” as cited from the Commission directive 1999/2/EC' (1999). The desire to stay small ensures that the value of direct consumer relations is maintainable. With due course, this research touches upon economic aspects due to the nature of the research topic of artisanal products but for the scope of the project, will not be examined nor presented in the exhibition.

The justifications, callings, and factors of why these three farmers chose to return to the countryside, start goat keeping, and produce artisanal goods lies in the social, cultural and symbolic capital. According to Bonow and Ryrkönen, the social capital is manifested through means of “networks, meetings, friends, family, isolation, community” (2013, 83) while cultural capital to be “composed of skills, knowledge, know-how, values, norms, education,

qualifications, cultural understanding, cultural artifacts, experiences...” (Ibid.) and that the symbolic capital is constructed around the sense of “identity, heritage, traditions, status, ownership, pride, emotions, and symbolic resources, such as the dairy herd, the land, and the farm” (Ibid.). To simplify these complexities of the multifaceted and intricate web, the values and capitals are found in keeping goats and the production of artisanal goat milk products. As such, I want to emphasize on focusing the attention to each and all farmers' choices, values, and beliefs that center around the appreciation for goats, the craft of making healthful artisanal products, and the symbiosis between farmer, animals and the land itself.

Goat cheese, let alone goat farming, is not something that is traditional or recognized as cultural heritage in Estonia nor to Estonians and this project does not aim to claim it so. These tangible artisanal goods produced act as and are a result of the intangible values (the social, economic and cultural) that can reflect the Estonian cultural heritage as they “impart particular value claims on people, their histories, social structures, and traditions” (Di Giovine and Brulotte 2014, 2).

Each farm exhibits how the intangible heritage and personal values are inscribed within the names of the farms. OleMari talu is constructed from the first names of both Ole and his wife and could indicate the importance of connecting with consumers by creating a sense of familiarity and transparency of being small farmers and owners who value a relationship of intimacy between themselves and their consumers. 7 Kitsetalle’s name is derived from the well known Brothers Grimm collected tale, *Hunt ja seitse kitsetalle*¹³ and was chosen for its memorability and connection to a childhood story. Hõbeda kitsefarm is a combination of the manor’s historical name and history (*Hõbeda mõis* /Hõbeda manor) with the enterprise of goat farming (*kitsefarm*/goat farm). The historical context of the manor’s name also ties into the historical heritage of the area, the property and to a larger extent, Estonia’s history.

What is most important is the way that the farms present themselves through their websites and what they personally feel is most important to share. The stories told by the farmers touch base on the present-day locality with previous historical names and how the land was and is used. This, therefore, is a way for the current owners to connect and continue the cultural heritage of the landscape through the production of their artisanal food that embodies the characteristics of the land, the farmer as an artisan and the broader scope of

¹³ English: The Wolf and Seven Young Goats

values that are conveyed through the artisanal products (Paxson 2013, 209-12). On 7 Kitsetalle's Facebook business page, Anne-Mai details how the farm itself was historically based on destiny; the property was already named 'Kitse,' had activities of animal husbandry, and its first mentions dating to 1841.¹⁴ Georg and Kersti highlight the importance of their farm's historical past on their website page where its first mentions date back to 1459 and is the former Hõbeda manor. The presentation of the farm continues by connecting its current day activities to that of the old, where it still has "an old stone barn, former dairy, and an old ground cellar."¹⁵ On OleMari's Weebly blog, they focus not on the historical context of the property itself but on living and working cohesively with nature, the animals and everything that surrounds them; "We care about nature, animals and everything that surrounds us."¹⁶

Goat keeping in Estonia is about the "set of practices, traditions and values" (Di Giovine and Brulotte 2014, 78) and how this is the "'reinvention of tradition' as practices that 'seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, *which automatically implies continuity with the past*'" (as cited by Di Giovine and Brulotte 2014, 78). Finally, food as heritage typically draws attention to *specific types* of food products that are culturally embedded within a society such as Turkish coffee, dolmas, sushi, lutefisk and kimchi. I contest that the focus doesn't always lie in the final *result* but also in the *process*, as indicated by the UNESCO recognition of the gastronomic meal of the French, beer culture (Belgium) and Qvevri wine-making in Georgia and Washoku just to name a few.¹⁷ Like the French gastronomic meal, perhaps Estonian heritage lies not in the concept of goat keeping nor the products made, but within the practices of living in rural spaces, working with and within the landscape, and the relationship between animals and humans that is handed down throughout the generations.

¹⁴ Anne-Mai Sutt. "7 Kitsetalle." Facebook. Accessed October 3, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/pg/kitsetalu/about/?ref=page_internal.

¹⁵ Georg and Kersti Lužkov. "Esileht." Hõbeda kitsefarm. Accessed October 13, 2019, <http://kitsefarm.ee/et>.

¹⁶ Ole Hütt. "Tootevalik." Olemari talu. Accessed October 17, 2019, <https://olemari.weebly.com/tootevalik>.

¹⁷ "Browse the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of good safeguarding practices" UNESCO, accessed July 17, 2020, [https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists?text=&term\[\]=vocabulary_thesaurus-3078&term\[\]=vocabulary_thesaurus-1675&term\[\]=vocabulary_thesaurus-10&term\[\]=vocabulary_thesaurus-6989&multinational=3#tabs](https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists?text=&term[]=vocabulary_thesaurus-3078&term[]=vocabulary_thesaurus-1675&term[]=vocabulary_thesaurus-10&term[]=vocabulary_thesaurus-6989&multinational=3#tabs)

2. Theoretical Framework: Taskscape(s)

Taskscape, by Tim Ingold, is the concept that is constructed from landscape and temporality, and was used to contextualize this project. To address taskscape it must be broken down into its humble beginnings to untangle its true purpose and application. Landscape, as explained by Ingold, is not simply land or nature, nor is it a static “neutral, external backdrop to human activities” but rather that landscape “tells — or rather *is* — a story” of its current and previous inhabitants (Ingold 2000, 189). The landscape encompasses the passage of time and the marks of its inhabitants who have played a role in the cultivation of its formation, though by no means are the inhabitants the sole contributor to its current state. To “perceive the landscape is therefore to carry out an act of remembrance” where inhabitants are in constant engagement with the landscape and thus, their own past (Ibid.). Landscape, therefore, can be understood to be interwoven with the acts of the animate and inanimate; an ever-evolving process with its inhabitants “and through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are a part of it” (Ingold 2000, 191). This leads into the consideration of tasks or the activities that are entrenched with and within the landscape.

Landscape, itself, is unique where its distinctive characteristics are experienced through sight, smell, touch and sounds. As Ingold suggests, because of these experiential aspects the inhabitants themselves construct activities that are most relevant and pertinent to the landscape and it “is from this relational context of people’s engagement with the world, in the business of dwelling, that each place draws its unique significance.” Space is, therefore, understood to represent the meanings it is designated whereas landscape and its meanings are “gathered from it” (Ingold 2000, 192).

Temporality, in landscape and ultimately, in taskscape, is understood to be potentially infinite; that life and social time is an ongoing process with no clear distinction of finality. Secondly, there is not a singular “rhythmic cycle, but a complex interweaving of very many concurrent cycles” that are experienced visually, auditorily, and by touch and smell (Ingold 2000, 197). Thus, the temporality of taskscape is found in the web of interrelations of the animate and inanimate in a given landscape. Finally, that of which forms taskscapes are found within the *movement and activities* and *cannot* exist in the absence of said activities and is defined to be “an array of related activities” where practical tasks are “carried out by a

skilled agent in an environment” (Ingold 2000, 195). Ingold concludes that the concept of taskscape is the recognition and observation of the *process* of dwelling through activities of inhabitants rather than the *final* result or product created and that “in dwelling in the world, we do not act *upon* it, or do things *to* it; rather we move along *with* it (Ingold 2000, 198-200). The landscape is not *tabula rasa*, waiting for the inscription of people's actions but rather that people are part of the landscape and that the movement enacted is a reactionary response to living in and within the landscape. Taskscape allows further conceptualization of how knowledge is drawn *from* the practices of doing and dwelling rather than a static, fixed essence of knowledge that is handed down the generations (Ingold 2000, 207). Taking into consideration of how taskscape is enacted, this draws attention to the tasks that are situated within the space itself and what constitutes as appropriate since “inhabitants of a place have a practical orientation to its materiality” (Kaaristo and Vösu 2009, 79).

The tasks of the three goat farms therefore would be fitted and arranged in accordance to the specific space. While all three share common tasks in the taskscapes of goat keeping and cheese making, they also exhibit different means and modes of enactment. Some, though not all, examples of activities that unfold in these taskscapes are: the milking of the goats, hauling hay, cleaning of the pens, the goats foraging and browsing in the pastures and small patches of trees, the washing of the curds and the crafting of the cheese. Considering the common task of milking goats, OleMari’s activities may be similar to the other two farms but also draw different responses from the agents. The two photos (photos 1 and 2) below demonstrate how the milking task at OleMari differs from 7 Kitsetalle where there is a solid door that cuts the line of sight for the goats who, therefore, respond by waiting in line much like people in a grocery store. Because the spaces differ from the other, the responses of the agents will ultimately be affected, regardless of the commonality of the task.



Photo 1. „Tormamine” / “Rushing In”
OleMari talu, 2019



Photo 2. „Rivistama” / “Lining Up”
7 Kitsetalle, 2019

The taskscape of milking is more than just what the environment affords; it is also constructed with the human agent's intention; both OleMari and Hõbeda milk their goats twice a day (morning and evening) while Anne-Mai only milks the goats once, first thing in the morning. For Anne-Mai, this is due to a personal belief and practicality; that the milk would go to waste if she were to milk twice a day and she only takes what she needs. She also shared that her goats are "healthier because I don't milk them twice a day."

Thus, goat keeping taskscapes are formulated not only by the landscape and its affordances but also by the human agents who inscribe their own personal beliefs, motivations and values into the enacted tasks. These then transcend and are embedded within the artisanal goat milk products made; "these tasks of place making are not only unskilled but also intentional, motivated by ethical commitment. Value, then, is not just materially extracted from or discursively inscribed on place; in return, moral values can inspire place-making practices, with potential durable effects" (Paxson 2010, 453). Taskscapes not only indicate the cultivated and refined attunement and skills of the farmers, that the "inhabitants of a particular place learn over time how best to work within its distinctive parameters— how to coax the best results out of its natural endowment— and they pass this distinctive, traditional knowledge from generation to generation" (West 2013, 322) but also, as quoted from Ingold, of how these tasks and the responses to the taskscape instigate what could be considered traditional to "undergo continual generation and regeneration within the contexts of people's practical engagement with significant components of the environment" (as cited by Kaaristo and Vösu 2009, 76).

Through the photographs and soundscapes, these two elements aim to highlight goat keeping and artisanal cheesemaking taskscapes in Estonia. Firstly, the photographs parallel Ingold's explanation of the landscape component of the taskscape. Notably, these photos are static and fixed so it can only be a representation of the real world experience rather than an actual multisensory experience of the taskscape. Nevertheless, the photos depict scenes where viewers can gather visual information of the taskscape. Secondly, the soundscapes can be understood to be representations of the tasks or actions (both animate as well as inanimate) that relate to a particular taskscape. The soundscapes are integral to the experience of the exhibition in facilitating a more experiential understanding of the depicted scenes. For "the landscape seems to be what we *see* around us, whereas taskscape is what we *hear*" (Ingold 2000, 199). In the synchronicity of the visual and sonic, the visitor can therefore create

connections and understanding of what is presented. “Whereas both the landscape and the taskscape presuppose the presence of an agent who watches and listens, the taskscape must be populated with beings who are themselves agents, and who reciprocally ‘act back’ in the process of their own dwelling (Ibid.). Ergo, I speculate that the visitors (albeit not as fully engaged as the agents in the taskscape) are the agents who are “reciprocally” acting with the exhibition elements which are constituents of the taskscape that have been extracted and implemented into a different setting. When considering photos, it is seldom that viewers will think about the sounds or bodily sensations that are presented in the images. How often do we imagine the sounds of wind moving through the leaves of trees or the grass of the pasture? How often do we engage and recreate the sensation of the biting cold of a snowy photo? Do we recollect the call of songbirds when presented with its image or perhaps the munching sounds of hay being eaten? The decision of creating soundscapes is justified through this very fact that the answer is that we seldom recreate what could be the experience of and in the photo. We extrapolate only visual information while disregarding the multifaceted experience of being in the landscape and being active agents in a taskscape. And it is through the amalgam of the photos and soundscapes that I hope to recreate a representation of the experiential sensation of being in the taskscape of these three farms.

3. Methodological Framework

The following chapter is composed of two sections. The first section, visual ethnography, draws from multiple literatures to support the project component of film photography and its rationale. The second partition concentrates on sonic ethnography and justifies the soundscapes through a variety of sources. Each subchapter also includes self-reflexive points in the duration of the fieldwork in comparison to the project.

3.1. Visual Ethnography

Sight is a vital sensory receptor as it offers visual forms of knowledge that is innate that words sometimes do not convey. Elaine Power exemplified this with a personal anecdote from her research on how the interlocutor sometimes struggled to elucidate their experiences or bodily knowledge through language; “I had the distinct impression that the participants knew more than they were able to put into words and tell me about their food-related practices” (Power 2015, 10). DeVault’s term, linguistic incongruence, captures the sentiment that language can sometimes lack to convey experience and is exemplified through the linguistic phrases of “you know or you know what I mean” (Ibid.) which implores the listener to make the “intuitive leap to understand those inarticulable, but possibly shared parts of experience” (Ibid.).

This matter also occurred throughout the course of the fieldwork. In one particular instance, Anne-Mai beckoned me to come closer to the pot of goat’s milk that had lactic acid bacteria, or starter cultures, stirred in earlier. She wanted me to visually see the difference in the milk after it coagulated, transforming the milk from liquid into a semi-solid curd. The silver knife pierced the surface, causing the whey to ripple underneath and Anne-Mai said, lifting the cut slightly, “this is what I look for. This is how I know when it is ready.” The visual components of the fieldwork became even more pertinent as the interlocutors and I do not share the same mother tongue. In fact, there have been several moments where they did not know how to verbally convey their experience(s) and relied on my past experiences and observations to be sufficient enough in establishing an informational discernment.

Relaying knowledge through practice also bridges the knowledge gap that language sometimes fails to convey as “practice has its own logic...an embodied practical logic, without conscious or logical control, by which an actor draws upon the conditioning of [their] habitus...and the necessities of the situation at hand to make an instantaneous assessment of what needs to be done and then do it” (Power 2015, 10-11). There are tasks where it becomes deeply embedded in the practitioners habitus that utterances can fail to properly convey what the physical body knows, “which allow them to anticipate, without conscious thought, the appropriate actions, activities, gestures, and words for the situations of their everyday lives” (Power 2015, 11).

The camera, like many other instruments such as ultrasound imaging, telescopes and microscopes, is “another instrumental extension of our senses” (Collier, Collier, and Hall 1986, 7). The technology of the camera allowed people to capture the visual representations of our intuitive knowledge that is found within the body and its experiences. How we respond to visual data differs from textual or verbal information as the “physical basis: the parts of the brain that process visual information are evolutionarily older than the parts that process verbal information” and thus, reconstructing the knowledge obtained (Harper 2002, 13). Visual data differs from textual information and offers a different perspective of the nuances and facets that are present within bodily experiences and material culture. Some notable examples of photography being used as an ethnographic and folkloric methodology are Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson’s *Balinese Character* (1942), Russel Lee with his collaboration with the Farm Security Administration (1936-1942), John Cohen’s *There is No Eye* (2001), and Mary T. Hufford’s *Molly Mooching on Bradley Mountain: The Aesthetic Ecology of an Appalachian Morels* (2006).

As the field of anthropology and ethnography developed, photographs as visual representations of data went under academic speculation within the 20th century. Photographs’ ‘truthfulness’ from a fieldsite as viable visual documentation were in question as to how “accurately” they could depict “reality” (Power 2015; Pink 2013; Collier, Collier, and Hall 1986). Photography was considered to be “too subjective, unrepresentative and unsystematic” (as cited by Power 2015, 12) in terms of its veracity, as researchers using visual tools are prone to subjugate and project their own personal bias onto the fieldwork site, whether it is intentional or not. The entire process from shooting to developing photos and displaying is thus, consequently, entrenched with the researchers’ own perspective. It is

nearly impossible for the researcher to wholly extricate their idiosyncratic selves and experiences and to remain unbiased throughout the process to accurately portray ‘reality’ since the very presence of the researcher also distorts the actuality of the situation since the observer embodies different markers such as “gender, age, ethnicity, class and race” (Pink 2013, 20) that influences the shot captured. Being photographed is also intimate in such a way that the interlocutor may feel scrutinized, aware of the researcher's movements and when the camera is brought up to the eye. Those within the photo may deliberately pose or shy away from the camera which alters the photo from being an organic portrayal to intentional and ‘acted.’ How we perceive and interpret the fieldsite that we are situated in is also “culturally and historically specific” (Banks 2001, 7) which further corroborates the reality of our inability to fully disentangle one’s subjectivities, perceptions and understanding from photos. Because photographs lack ‘true’ organic-ness, they become a collaboration and negotiation between the researcher and interlocutor, a “complex reflection of a relationship between maker and subject in which both play roles in shaping their character and content” (Collier 2013, 35). Bearing this in mind, it does not bode well to dismiss the usage of camera as an instrumental tool in fieldwork recording, as Margaret Mead notes that cameras can be utilized in ways to limit the subjectivities of the researcher and, ultimately, be a tool to enhance and improve the field research (Mead 1974, 9). One example to mitigate subjectivity is to have interlocutors take control of the camera and shoot what they find pertinent or perhaps another is to let the film camera continuously roll without the presence of the researcher.

There seem to be two segments in which ethnographic photographs oscillate between: those that are considered scientific and those that are more artistic expressions. As Pink stated, the realist photos tend to depict images that are employed as documentation and data while the latter “parallels the use of novels, diaries, short stories and autobiography” (Pink 2013, 127). The complexity that lies in ethnographic images, however, is the perception and interpretation of those that interact with these images. It considers the researcher, subject, viewers, and that the “viewing process is a dynamic interaction between the photographer, the spectator, and the images meaning is actively constructed, not passively received” (Schwartz 1989, 120). With each individual, there is also the consideration that “each viewer [uses] his or her own cultural and experienced-based knowledge and moral values to give meanings to the images” (Pink 2013, 54) and how there can be no “fixed criteria that

determine which photographs are ethnographic. Any photograph may have ethnographic interest, significance or meanings at a particular time or for a specific reason” and meaning lies within the viewer’s interpretation (Pink 2013, 51).

3.1.1 Self-reflexivity on capturing the photographs

For this master’s project, the photographs were taken *after* speaking with the farmers and during observations. The farmers were prompted with the question of “what is your story?” and allowed to exercise their own interpretation to what they viewed as their story and most pertinent to share. It is essential to note that the stories shared with me are heavily influenced and dictated by their interpretation of who I am and thus, the stories told must be contextualized within the framework of how they perceive me and which parts of their stories were deemed valuable to share. Furthermore, the stories shared will vary depending on how they want their story told to others through the exhibition, how they want to be perceived and how they see themselves from the stance of an outsider. With this in mind, the photos captured do not, and perhaps cannot, portray the ‘whole’ truth but offer insight into the collaboration between myself and the farmers.

The text for captions presents other opportunities for interpretation. Photographs can be “a means of deconstructionism” (Pink 2013, 121-3) that empowers the photographed subjects to have more autonomy of presentation in comparison to textual research that commands authority by the researcher. The titling of the photographs do embody a sense of authority from my position as the researcher and photographer, however, it was not titled in such a way that was intended to be wholly observational, but rather to strike a balance between scientific representation with the artistic. Therefore, the titles are intended to convey the artistic form that is attributed to the experience of artisanal goods while also holding key words to indicate the more ‘realist’ aspect. Such is expressed in this example:



Photo 3. *Niidust vasakul / Left of the Meadow*
OleMari talu, 2019

For the viewer, the title is intended to fluctuate between an artistic and realist format. The realist aspect is indicated through the directions given in the textual title that also corresponds with the farm sign arrow pointing left. The artistic notion is expressed through the word ‘meadow’ that is also reflected in this photograph.

Fundamentally, the intention behind creating an exhibition with photos is to demonstrate and communicate the cultural nuances of these farmers' lives and the life cycle of the goat milk products produced whilst allowing viewers to draw upon their own understanding and experiences. It is not my objective to claim that the collection of photos is a comprehensive and ‘accurate’ or ‘true’ portrayal of these farmers’ lives but rather a representation of these farmers lives through a foreigners’ perspective. The *raison d’etre* of the exhibition is to showcase a different perspective of the complex and diverse manners in which to interpret and interact with the research and the collection photos and soundscapes and expand how knowledge is received, processed and interacted with through the sensory receptors. Knowledge through sight engages a different part of the brain (Harper 2010, 13) while supplementing the diverse ways of *knowing* through an individual's experiences.

The digital camera has strong advantages when compared to its antecedent, the analog camera as it is more cost effective means to capture photos along with ease and accessibility. Analog camera's, on the other hand, rely on film rolls. A single film roll only has 24 or 36 exposures compared to digital camera's nearly unlimited shots and these film rolls need further development in a laboratory to develop the images in contrast to the 'ready-made' images of a digital camera. With that being stated, I personally felt drawn to capture the lives and experiences of the farmers with the analog camera for a few distinct reasons. Thoughtfulness, attentiveness and deliberation were crucial tools utilized in the field due to the finite exposures of a film roll. I had to ruminate before releasing the shutter, asking myself questions such as 'what is most important to express from their stories shared? Does this shot carry more visual weight than if it were textual? Is this shot important or is it excessive and unnecessary?' This maneuvered me into the direction of exploration and reflection to the experiences of the farmers in a more thoughtful manner rather than just observing and clicking the shutter release.

Digital photos can also be rendered in incredibly high quality, such as clarity and sharpness, that can create an image that is "too harsh" which therefore could be perceived as "too perfect" to the human eye. It was a deliberate act to capture the softness of the farmers' lifestyles in juxtaposition of the harsh reality of physical labor in the rural countryside. However, capturing the beauty and idyllic lifestyle is a fine line to walk and care is needed to not over-romanticize it. The grainy qualities of film photographs help to facilitate this ideal, giving the images a gritty sensation that enhances, rather than detracts, from the photos' aesthetics. Imperfections give life to a photo rather than detracting it.

All photos were shot utilizing a Minolta Rokkor-X 50mm f/1.7 lens and this is important as the lens used replicates what is "perceived by the 'natural eye'" (Hitchcock 1989, 5), so to ensure that viewers could realistically reimagine the depicted scenes captured. The first series of photos were shot on three different types of film: Kodak Gold 200, Ektar 100 and Fuji Superia X-Tra 400. I settled on shooting with Kodak Gold 200 film for a few reasons. Firstly, I wanted to work with color film over black and white (B/W) so that variations of colors and textures would be more distinguished and could be considered to be more faithful to how the majority of people see their surroundings compared to B/W film which focuses the eye's attention on the interplay of shadows and light. Secondly, the color rendition of Ektar 100 has the tendency to be overly saturated and intensified, particularly the

warm tones, and would alter the human skin tones to an unrealistic degree. Fuji Superia X-Tra 400 also had a different color palette than the other two films; it captured more cool tones (blues and greens) than what was desired for this project topic and dulled the warm tones of the goats' fur. I wanted the photos to capture the rich umber tones of the goats while also maintaining integrity to the colors of nature. Kodak Gold 200 proved to fit the best in terms of the color palette as this film was also specifically manufactured to be shot in natural daylight.

3.2 Sonic Ethnography

The visual and ocular plays a critical role in the perception of our surroundings and a means to obtain and process information, however, it has eventually led to the other sensory receptors to be overlooked in the scholarly field. This sentiment has been supported by numerous researchers, particularly with the intention of highlighting the significance of sound as knowledge and data. R. Murray Schafer wrote “in the West the ear gave way to the eye as the most important gatherer of information about the time of the Renaissance, with the development of the printing press and perspective painting” (Schafer 1993, 10). Daza and Gershon also detail the dominating presence of the ocular over hearing/listening, but do not attempt to claim that researchers should disengage from the ocular methodologies but rather, to coalesce the other sensory receptors to enrich the research. Through the employment and integration of different sonic methodologies, Daza and Gershon postulate that it allows the researcher to break through the “ocular binaries of framing or an Othering gaze” (Daza and Gershon 2015, 639).

Helmi Järviluoma and Noora Vikman reiterate these sentiments of how “our audiovisual culture is sometimes dramatized as being ‘deaf,’ which means that it is insensitive to acoustic phenomena” (Järviluoma and Vikman 2013, 8). If multisensory methodologies were to be employed, then the sonic data, for example, may differ from the data collected through ocular methods, but would elucidate aspects that perhaps the ocular would have otherwise been unable to capture. The visual components of the material world are more perceptible as it holds more permanence compared to that of the sonic; sounds are “born” and have a tendency to “die off” when the resonance between two objects that created the sound ceases to be (Ibid.).

Walter S. Murch, a noted film editor and sound designer, had elucidated a paradox that exists within the sound world in a tri-panel lecture focusing on sounds and soundscapes. In his lecture, he emphasized:

“...and I came up against a conundrum, which is that we have many nouns that talk about the act of looking: a look, a glance, a stare, a gaze, a glimpse, gawk, gander, squint, ogle, peer, peep, peek, etc. etc. And I’m sure you could probably double this amount very easily and yet

for the act of hearing we have nothing. There is no noun that talks about what the act of hearing is other than, in English, a kind of slang which is ‘give a listen to this.’ But in terms of non-slang speech, there isn’t any. So, that is a conundrum; why is that? Because listening is extremely important to us. All of us do nothing frequently but listen to things...And here’s another paradox which is that we hear much more than we see...” (Murch, 2013, 33:29-34:52).

This draws the attention to questions of sounds and ethnography: what is the relationship of sound in ethnography? Why does sound matter in ethnography? And what are ethnographic sounds? Gershon notes sonic ethnography being sounds utilized as another ethnographic medium which has been underscored: “sound is venerated and pose as an important ethnographic form of expression yet is immediately reduced to talk, talk that is again reduced to complex texts; sounds twice removed to gain ethnographic legitimacy and depth” (Gershon 2019, 2). The author clarifies that sound in ethnographic methodologies are not suggested to be *more* important or *more* real than the ocular, but that it offers different modes of understanding, recording, analyzing and theorizing in and about the field research and that “sonic ethnography open[s] a world of sound possibilities...that at once deepend and provide alternate pathways for understanding everyday..interactions and the sociocultural contexts that help render those ways of being, doing and knowing sensible” (Ibid). More so, sounds employed as ethnographic methodology can aid in the contextualization of the intricate web of interrelationships and highlight the things which are common knowledge to local actors. Carlo A. Cubero has also followed this field of thought to where sounds are “integral to social experience” and how sound “highlights the social aspects of listening and represents listening as a practice rather than a passive experience” (Cubero 2013, 2). To contextualize this and situate a deeper understanding for the importance of sounds I draw upon this photo:



Photo 4. „Kitsede maiustus” / “Candy of the Goats“
OleMari talu, 2019

The photo clearly depicts the child feeding the goat leaves from a tree. This would be nothing out of the ordinary for an outside viewer, however, through the soundscape and the specific sound clip recorded in the field, the exhibition visitor gains information in understanding that these leaves are a particular treat that the goats enjoy. Simply, the leaves are “candy of the candy for goats.” It is through the child’s utterance that the soundscape is able to connect and deepen the meanings behind the photo. What is commonsensical to *him* (represented solely by the photo and the specific leaves chosen) may not be to outsiders but because the soundscape was presented together with the photo, outsiders who may lack this knowledge or experience are given an opportunity to contextualize the photo further in the way that the local actor does.

‘Soundscape’ is a complicated term: one that does and does not have definitive boundaries. It has evolved to mean different things to different fields of thought since its introduction by R. Murray Schafer who said that a soundscape is “any acoustic field of study” which can range from a musical piece to environment as soundscape, and that soundscapes consist of “events *heard* not objects *seen*” (Schafer 1993, 7-8). However, John M. Picker collectively presented arguments to Schafer’s definition and understanding of soundscapes. Picker draws from Steven Feld who argued that “acoustemology” is a more suitable word

because it “refuses to sonically analogize or appropriate ‘landscape,’ with all its physical distance from agency to perception” (as cited in Picker 2019, 153). Tim Ingold’s argument is also presented where soundscapes are obsolete in the sense that they do not truly capture the nuances in the lived experience and soundscapes attempt to splice lived experienced according to the sense it pertains to such as what is seen, felt, tasted, heard, and so forth (as cited in Picker 2019, 153). Sound is an individually experienced phenomena; a complex narrative and understanding of the world we live in. Hildegard Westerkamp’s article *Linking soundscape composition and acoustic ecology* heavily influenced my understanding of soundscapes and the construction of them. Westerkamp presented her argument that while *all* sounds technically could be part of a soundscape composition, the soundscape itself should be a composition in which the essence of itself embodies the “artistic, sonic transmission of meanings about place, time, environment and listening perception” (Westerkamp 2002, 52).

The microphone is more than just a device to record selected sounds since it also shows how the device itself heightens the researcher’s awareness of the sounds that are interwoven within the environment. The ear is selective in what it chooses to listen to: it can tune in and out, pick up specific sounds when active listening is engaged, selectively focus on other key sounds and so forth. The microphone, in contrast, is “non-selective” in its technological nature: it cannot do the things that the ear can but it's enacted to be an extension of the ear in the movements of the recorder (Westerkamp 2002, 53). The recorder can choose which sounds to focus on, the direction of the equipment and so forth, hence, “the specific ‘perspective’ of the recordist is exercised from the stages of recording the sound clips to the construction of the soundscapes. In this, the composer explores the boundaries between real soundscapes [the environment in which the sounds are situated in], acoustic experience and aural imagination.” (Westerkamp 2002, 53).

3.2.1 Self-reflexivity on recording soundscapes for the exhibition

The soundscapes produced for this project are composed of sound clips that were collected from all three sites and were merged to create compositions that reflect the four different themes. The idea behind the soundscapes were inspired by the works of Barry Truax with his 1997 piece titled *Pendlerdrøm* and *La Sera di Benevento* (1999) as well as Hildegard Westerkamp’s piece *Kits Beach Soundwalk* (1989), *Türen der Wahrnehmungen* (1989) and *Beneath the Forest Floor* (1996). Westerkamp and Truax’s works range from ‘realist’ to

‘creative’ soundscapes. Some of Westerkamp’s pieces have her verbally annotating the sounds as in *Kits Beach Soundwalk* while other pieces allow the sounds to speak for themselves. *Pendlerdrøm* is a soundscape constructed with sounds from the Copenhagen Central Train Station that lend a sonic experience to a commuter’s journey. This piece exemplifies a more consecutive flow of sound recordings rather than Westerkamp’s *Beneath the Forest Floor* which is a soundscape composed of different sounds that have been sewn together. For this master’s project soundscapes, I wanted to remain as true as possible to the sounds of the environment with little alteration. Unlike Truax and Westerkamp’s soundscapes, I kept the compositions relatively short ranging from 56 seconds to almost six minutes long. The deliberate choice behind this was catering to the exhibition viewers; I wanted to recreate an experience without losing the attention of the visitors. The sound clips were overlapped one another and are not wholly “true.” What I mean by this is that each soundscape is constructed using all three farm sounds, not just from one farm. In some cases, the sounds were overlapped, repeated or reverb was added to emphasize the importance of the theme surrounding the specific photo section. This was a conscious choice made on my behalf in that the soundscapes would still be interacted with as a piece of truth for viewers and the farmers.

This brings about the question of ethics. Like Cubero and the production team in their project, *In Sound (Tundega Helides)*, the boundaries of ethics were questioned. If the piece, much like the soundscapes created for this exhibition, were to be representational pieces of these spaces and experiences, would it then be ethically wrong to manipulate, mix, apply sound effects, and ultimately, change these sounds (Cubero, 2013)? As stated above, I made an effort to remain as true as possible to the original content. While the sound clips were individual pieces that were amalgamated, the content remains nearly true to what was originally recorded. Sound effects applied to the compositions were fade-ins and fade-outs in order to create smoother transitions from one sound clip to the next, as well as noise reduction where the sounds captured in the forefront would have nearly the entire listening stage versus the roar of the road behind 7 Kitsetalle’s farm. I do recognize that the near elimination of the car sounds alters the truthful representation of the space, though not completely; I simply wanted to dampen the intensity of the cars passing by to what was more true to our selective hearing — an equivalent to using the 50mm lens for photographs. Wind was also a constant nodus, especially in spaces where it commanded the space, like the

pastures, and I wanted to improve the quality of the sounds without the muffling and whipping sounds of the wind against the microphone. Another effect that was applied, once, was reverb to create an echo of a child's laughter. This decision was based on the fact that there were no genuine laughter sounds captured, but that of a child who knew I was recording and wanted to exaggerate himself in the captured sound piece. I utilized reverb to hopefully create a more ethereal laughter in the background of *Relationship with Goats*.¹⁸ However, depending on the listener, the child's laughter could be perceived as a bit unsettling. If the soundscapes were to be at its most pure and original form, the sound clips would have not been captured in short bursts but rather, long periods of recording. I actively chose to alter the sounds to make a more comprehensive and diverse soundscape that would retain the attention of the listener instead of long, winded soundscapes.

But to further understand the soundscape composition, I detail the processes and methodologies, the equipment used and challenges that arose in and out of the field. For the recording of the sounds, the equipment used was with financial constraints in mind and consideration for mobility. I used the BOYA BY-MM1 Mini Shotgun microphone that attaches to my smartphone.¹⁹ This was chosen for the mobility I would be able to have as there was no designated sound person working with me. The smartphone was then attached to the Mpow selfie stick tripod that was to help dampen any noise that my hands would have generated and its portability in size; it could extend up to 75 cm (29.5 in) and collapse down to 16.51 cm (6.5 in). The recording platform used was the app called RecForge II which has a lot of special features to enhance the audio recording experience and capabilities; I was able to see the audio waveform and control the device if peaking occurred as well as recording in wav format rather than mp3 (uncompressed sound file versus compressed). For composing the soundscapes, I worked with Audacity for its accessibility, plethora of help videos available on YouTube and the assortment of editing tools and effects.

There were a few challenges that I encountered in the field when recording sounds. The first being that I was both the photographer and recorder. With two important roles to juggle, I had to forgo possibly missing a good photo shot or recording a sound that could not be replicated. Regarding the reenactment or replication of sounds, I personally believed this would be a form of influence that I didn't find to be truthful.

¹⁸ Estonian: *Suhted kitsedega*

¹⁹ Essential PH-1

The physical presence of the recording equipment also posed some difficulties as it not only intensified my own listening perception but also influenced the environment around me and those being recorded (Westerkamp 2002, 53). There was a particular instance that I hope will help readers contextualize this. At one farm, I wanted to record the sounds of goats chewing fresh hay that was just brought out. When the microphone was near them—near but not too close that it would scare the goats away—they all immediately stopped chewing, their jaws went slack and stared intently at the microphone with wide eyes. The goats did not move a single centimeter and almost seemed to have stopped breathing. When the microphone was removed from their line of sight, they'd carry about their business. When the microphone was slowly reintroduced, the same scene occurred again and again till I had to accept that the goats simply did not want to be recorded and perhaps this is the goats lack of consent to being recorded. At another farm I aimed to capture the same type of sound and these goats, being of a different breed, temperament and more accustomed to my now familiar presence, approached the microphone for investigation rather than freezing in place as the previous goats did. The sounds of the investigation can be heard in the soundscape *Peculiarities of Goats*²⁰ and is the sound of a goat's heavy sniffing of the microphone.

Much like the reasoning for the photos captured, I based the sounds on the stories of the farmers that were shared with me and I aimed to be generally open to the sounds present in the environment as all sounds were part of the greater experience of the places. I attributed attention and became increasingly aware of sounds that were part of the lives of the farmers such as the daily milking routine, the feeding of goats, the sounds that were emitted by animals when farmers interacted with them and sound cues in the process of creating artisanal goods. Listening and hearing are not wholly synonymous either as the former means to have *intent* and *awareness* while the latter is a more passive act (Fowler 2013, 114-5) and so I did different listening exercises based on R. Murray Schafer's book, *A Sound Education: 100 Exercises in Listening and Sound-Making* (1992), prior to entering the field. Though many of the exercises required others' participation, I did a handful which helped me understand and engage more meaningfully with sound as well as doing sound maps.²¹ With the practice of active listening exercises and the different methodologies of cultivating attentive listening, I was able to perform and collect at a higher standard in field and post fieldwork. If the

²⁰ Estonian: *Kitsede iseärasused*

²¹ See Appendix 2

exercises were not done prior to fieldwork, I would dare say that my skills as an attentive listener probably would have fumbled along and faced more obstacles in the long run, missing critical sound cues and aspects of the experiences.

3.3 Self-reflexivity of the fieldwork

Reflecting back on the fieldwork process, the interactions between myself and the interlocutors was most influenced by my role as a researcher/recorder/photographer. This is not to say that I only played this role but rather, to show the complexities that exist within each relationship as well. I have embodied different aspects of myself within each farm that were in constant oscillation: a researcher, an islander, a female, an English speaker, a foreigner, a food enthusiast, a friend, a person to share personal stories with based on compassion, a person to air concerns and frustrations as a researcher, etc. This also reflects the complexities of rural inhabitants who have routinely, and at times still are, been perceived by their urban counterparts to personify less than idyllic characteristics, such as crude and undereducated people, while also simultaneously being the caretakers of idyllic environments where urban folk can go to find a place for a “compensation [of a] lost identity, and as a representation of the ‘good old days’” (Bessière 1998, 22). The farmers I’ve worked with embody just as intricate selves: a parent, an educated person, a person with humble desires, a person with aspirations and goals, a community member, an Estonian, an animal lover, a chemist, an artisan, a ruralite, an ex-urban dweller, someone with ecological ideals and morals, a farmer. This demonstrates the case of the ethics that are entangled within the multi-tiered perception of self and others. When was it appropriate to assume a more research oriented mindset? As an associate? Questions arose as to “who and what is the true self?” I argue that all aspects presented and enacted within the field are components of the true self that are simply heightened and sometimes presented in the forefront of others while undergoing constant changes. This also supports the essence of the project in which the exhibition aims to reinstalled knowledge about the people behind the creation of artisanal goods and that they are more than just farmers.

The expectations from the farmers about the project were not verbally expressed other than approval and excitement for the final exhibition. One farmer expressed support in that

“we sometimes are forgotten, that there is someone who is doing these things.” The intention, on my behalf, was not to create a marketing opportunity, at least not deliberately. However, I accepted that the farmers may utilize this master’s project as a means of marketing tactics and I welcome the ways in which the farmers would like to engage and utilize this project. All photos that were captured were also shared with the farmers to use as they will with the stipulation of photography rights remaining to the original creator. One farmer used a photo on their Facebook business website to advertise a milk/goods delivery round they were making. Ultimately, I did not want to restrict or dictate how the farmers should interpret and engage with the project or the materials used for the project as I aimed for this to be more of a collaborative relationship between the farmers and myself.

4. Procedure and Implementation: The process of the exhibition

4.1 Photographs

The selected photos for the exhibition were based on themes that arose in the duration of fieldwork, both what was told through the farmers' stories/experiences and what was observed. The photos are grouped by themes and distributed on three different walls of the exhibition room; two of which share a glass wall. The final themes consist of four: artisanal food production process, taskscape, relationship with goats and the peculiarities of goats. The photos are a mixture from all three farms and laid out based on which photos worked best for each theme and also, what I deemed to have a visually aesthetic flow for visitors resulting in a partly creative exercise. These photos are inside of the exhibition room. On the outside of the exhibition, there are three sections that are grouped by farm to be introductory images for people as they enter the exhibition room.

The **Artisanal Food Production Process** consists of 11 photos, **Taskscape** with 4, **Relationship with Goats** has 3 photos and **Peculiarities of Goats** with 4 photos as well. The three themes (taskscape, relationship, peculiarities) are a mix of photos from each farm. On the outer glass wall, the original intent for the farm representative photos were to afford each farm the same intention of production: all three farms would have 3 photos each and of the same size. However, because the themes inside of the exhibition were odd numbered and differently sized, the photos on the outer glass wall needed to spatially mirror with the photos on the opposite side of the wall (inside the exhibition). This was to mitigate any potential marring of the visual aesthetic such as the hooks on the back of the photos inside the exhibition being visible. This choice was also advised by employees of ERM. Thus, the final compilation of the farm photos on the outside glass wall are: OleMari with 3 photos (the original layout), Høbeda with 4 photos (flush with the taskscape theme, inside), and 7 Kitsetalle with 3 (original) and the exhibition text board which was originally intended to be placed on an easel.

There were a total of four phases in which the series of photos selected for the exhibition went through review. Some photos were selected to showcase movement and

activities while others for their tranquility to denote the appeal of the rural countryside. Other photographs followed some general photography compositional rules such as the framing, rule of thirds, and asymmetry. The first two phases went through a filtration process with the use of Art Placer, an online platform, that helps artists visualize their art in a simulated desired space and “hung up.”²² The third review was composed of photos that I felt was closer to what was envisioned and sent to all three farmers (including one completed soundscape) for their review, suggestions and concerns.²³ Two farms' final remarks were that the photographs selected were pleasing and gave approval. One farm responded saying they liked the overall selected photographs but would suggest to include more photos of their animals and less of themselves. This was remedied by exchanging and rearranging some photos to incorporate their suggestion.

For this project a total of 17 rolls of film were used and a total of 513 photos were shot in the duration of the fieldwork. Of the 513 photos, 403 were viable and excluded photos that were too blurry, out of focus, loss of subject and even a photo of a dog jumping in front of the camera the moment the shutter was released. Photos that were too dark were also excluded because I wanted to remain as true to the original photo captured and mitigate any extreme editing needed. Of the 403 photographs, about 274 were considered for the exhibition and went through multiple selection processes. The final selection of photos that were part of the exhibition consists of 32 photos; 6 photos in portrait format and 26 photos in landscape format.²⁴

4.2 Soundscapes

The soundscapes created are based on the various sound clips collected in the field of the three different farms and a total of 104 sound clips were captured. Some examples of sounds are: the goats maa-ing and calling to each other, goats eating, milking machines, the trickle of water from a faucet while washing curds, stove sounds from the boiling of the milk, fenugreek seeds being shaken into the cheese mixture, distribution of oats and hay, conversations held between family members, the wind rustling the tree leaves, muffling of the microphone when the wind whipped across the open pasture, the farm guard dog barking,

²² See Appendix 3

²³ See Appendix 4

²⁴ See Appendix 5

chickens clucking, farmers speaking to their goats either lovingly or scolding them, the radio playing music, the belching of a person, a child calling out my name out as well as talking to me (to which the child lowered their voice volume to whisper when I signaled that I was recording), and a child chanting different words because he knew I was recording (*Õunakook! Jalgratas! Auto!*).²⁵ I collected 28 different sound clips from OleMari, 45 sound clips from 7 Kitsetalle, and 31 sound clips from Hõbeda. For the exhibition the soundscapes were commingled with a total of 36 different sound clips.

Creating the soundscapes presented challenges of its own. There was an ideal goal in mind that proved to be a bit out of the parameter of the skills and experience I have so there were multiple phases in which the soundscapes underwent such as cutting, moving, adding, and volume changes. The obstacles that arose were tackled on through dedication, consultation with my project supervisor, Karin Leivategija, and YouTube, but ultimately, was a process of trial and error. The final soundscape pieces reflect sounds that are associated with each thematic group of photos. For example, ‘The Artisanal Process’ consists of sounds drawn from all three farms from the “beginning” of the process towards the near “end” of *making* these products. This does not allude to the end of a product's life as it will go on to live a life outside of these parameters. The artisanal soundscape is introduced with the maa-ing of a single goat which leads to a group of goats calling out to a farmer who is distributing the highly sought-after oats. The farmer later beckons a goat to come in for milking which segues into the suction and pumping sounds produced from the milking machine and finally concluding with the sound of a faucet running indicating the washing of cheese curds. There are sounds within some soundscapes that do not have a corresponding visual cue but are easily recognizable sounds. The intent behind this choice was to engage visitors with corresponding auditory sounds with the visual but to also break away from what is seen (hence the water sounds that have no visual feature in the photos). This soundscape lasts for 3:40 while the ‘Peculiarities of Goats’ soundscape is 1:42, ‘Relationship with Goats’ is 0:54 and the ‘Taskscape’ being the longest at 5:32.

Based on the experience of cultivating these soundscapes, I have learned much and for future endeavors I recommend soundscapes to be more layered. What I mean by ‘layer’ is to blend the background sounds that were present in situ, such as bird calls, with the forefront such as the farmer speaking. In the soundscapes for this master’s project, I brought the

²⁵ English: Apple cake! Bicycle! Car!

majority of these sounds to the forefront and allowed them to dominate the soundscape in turns with less focus on layering them. Through this experience, I now know that some sounds should have been softened to be the background while other sounds in the foreground, and that the sounds should not have been so flat; the soundscapes should have been more dynamic, capturing a sensation of truly being auditorily present.

4.3 Museum space and grant application

This project was able to come into fruition with additional support from the *Eesti kultuurkapital* (Cultural Endowment of Estonia).²⁶ Funding was applied for twice with the second round being successful. The first application submitted was done as a private person (myself). The application included information such as the name of the exhibition, its purpose, what it is composed of as well as information on the financial budgeting of the project and self-funded aspects. At the end, the application for financial support from Kultuurkapital was not granted. This may be due to a few things such as the lack of comprehensive information provided on my behalf such as where the photos would be printed and why a particular printing enterprise was chosen over others. Another, larger reasoning, could be because the project does not fall under the committee's understanding or definition of folk culture and the application lacked an explanation of why food and its processes are important in regards to cultural heritage, traditions and folk culture; how food helps create understanding why and how we interpret and engage with the world around us, our communities and ourselves.

The second application was applied under Karin Leivategija as a collaborative project with ERM along with the aid of Ester Bardone drafting the justification for the application. This was to exemplify that the space for the exhibition was already established and the application was not seeking financial support from Kultuurkapital in this regard. The application also included additional information that was not presented the first time around such as price comparisons between different printing businesses and the justification for why a specific business was selected, a floor plan of the exhibition, the layout of photos within the exhibition space and so forth. This was met with approval and the financial support was

²⁶ Hereby referred to as Kultuurkapital.

implemented in the printing of the exhibition photos. The costs of fieldwork travel, film roll and lab processing of film, and equipment was solely self-funded.

The exhibition is hosted in the RTR at ERM from 19th of June 2020 to 13th of September 2020. This was the chosen space for a few reasons. Firstly, the exhibition intent is to engage the general public that does not frequent these types of spaces (the countryside) in a space that is accessible. Not only is the museum's location valuable and accessible, it is also a space that frequently collaborates with outside institutions and hosts a multitude of events outside of the museum's activities such as concerts. The museum is interacted with quite frequently, to my understanding both as a Tartu resident and an international student, and doesn't necessarily fall under the old adage of museums being historically charged spaces that tend to be dry or boring or even, perhaps, rigid and outdated. Hosting the exhibition at the museum would therefore engage the general population while also bolstering and showcasing the three different farms visually and sonically. Perhaps most importantly, the exhibition would engage visitors to re-engage and rediscover the importance of local foods, local farmers and local producers. With the inclusion of this master's project into the museum space, it reiterates ERM's initiatives to prioritizing academic and applied research of contemporary food culture and food heritage (as exemplified in the Food Culture Project that was conducted in 2017-2019).

4.4 Vernissage of the exhibition and response to the project

On the 19th of June, 2020, a small vernissage was held in the exhibition space with 27 attendees. Part of the experience was supplemented with another vital sensory receptor: taste. A selection of cheeses were presented from each farm to add a bit of texture, for one occasion, to the exhibition as well as to reflect the significance of food.

Part of the invitation list included some employees of ERM, those who have helped with the exhibition (from the translation of texts to the assemblage of photos) and, of course, the three farmers and their families. Unfortunately, only one farmer, Ole from OleMari talu, was able to attend when the opening was held (16.00-17.00). It was my intention to include the farmers at the opening as they were the project interlocutors and to also hear their final thoughts on the exhibition and their experiences throughout the entire process. Ole had shared some reflections of the exhibition both with me and on his business's Facebook page.

Overall, he was pleased with how the project turned out and we discussed the importance of unveiling the faces of our farmers. Luckily, the exhibition will be open for nearly three months and the two other farmers will be attending the exhibition on their own time and accord. Their post reflections will be shared directly with me later as it will not be shared in time of publication.

Since the opening of the exhibition, there has been some activity within the public and responses such as Ole establishing a *piimaring*²⁷ to ERM. Multiple press releases have been published through different newspapers that promoted news coverage of the exhibition. All articles reiterate one another (with exception to the published Virumaa Postimees with Hõbeda) by giving a general overview of the exhibition from the three farms portrayed to the interconnecting themes. It also informs readers that it is an academic project supported by my academic and personal interest in food culture and heritage. The articles end with a final statement about ERM conducting research on food culture and it's aims to integrate local entrepreneurs as well.²⁸

²⁷ Literal translation in English: milk circle. This is a concept where the farmer will make rounds to different destinations with products from/made at the farm

²⁸ <https://kultuur.err.ee/1104637/erm-toob-vaataja-ette-kitsetalud>

Concluding Remarks

The aim of this project was to illuminate the intricate web that artisanal foods is centered in while also drawing more attention to the artisans of its production. Through the employment of both the photographs and soundscapes, visitors can engage, reimagine, and recreate meaningful connections and understandings. The theory chapter also helps situate the complexities of the themes while creating a strong foundation for the justifications of why visual and sonic ethnology methodologies was the most suitable way to convey and execute the exhibition.

As this project exemplifies, the artisanal foods are not the “end” of the journey nor the “point” of it all. Rather, the artisanal goods embody the important values and morals of these three farmers. These values are found and reflected in the themes of: having a connection with the animals, living and working within the environment but also *with* the environment in a symbiotic relationship, as well as the enjoyment in the process of making the artisanal goods. All in all, this master’s project only begins to illuminate certain themes along with the faces of those who foster and care for our environments, transmute bodily knowledge and comprehension of the world we live in, and the importance of their stories and experiences.

For future research, this master’s project hopes to inspire scholars to delve further into the importance of food and how it is invoked, recreated and regenerating our sense of place, community, traditions, and self. In terms of recommendation for future projects, I would advocate for incorporating the other forms of bodily sensories such as taste, touch and smell. While the recreation of these lived experiences in a different space will not fully replicate what it is like to be in situ, it is well worth exercising and employing in attempts to bridge the gap in the world that we all partake in. Food is a wonderful, and delicious, reminder of our cultural heritage, traditions and how these are ever-evolving with the generations to come.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Textual component presented at the exhibition (Exhibition Synopsis)

„Eesti kitsepiima tootmine ning käsitööna valmivad tooted“ on näitus kolme Eesti väikefarmeri kitsepiima käsitöötoodetest.

Näitusel portreeritud farmideks on Järvemaal Türi vallas asuv 7 Kitsetalle OÜ, Lääne-Virumaal Kadrina vallas asuv Hõbeda kitsefarm ning Jõgevamaal Palamuse vallas asuv OleMari talu. See kätkeb endas kolme üldteemat, mis loovad suurema pildi nii toidust kui pärimusest: kitsepiima käsitöötooted, töötamine idüllilises maapiirkonnas, suhestumine loodusega. Seoses nende kolme teemaga tõusevad fookusesse ka teised mõtlemapanevad küsimused nagu suhe loomadega, tähtsad perekondlikud väärtused ja moraalsus, elustiili eelistused ja kitsedega töötamise rõõmud. Fotograaf ja kuraator kutsub külastajaid mõtisklema nendel teemadel. Näitus koosneb kahest elemendist, et luua rikkalikum kogemus: filmipõhine fotograafia ning helimaastik.

Fotograafi, uurija ja kuraatori kohta

Minu nimi on Nichole Michelle Weimer, hüüdnimega Pono, ja ma olen pärit Hawaii 'Oahu saarelt. Mul on akadeemiline taust kultuuriantropoloogias, mida õpetati interdistsiplinaarselt. Olen hetkel magistriõppes Tartu ülikooli Folkloristika ja pärandirakenduste programmis ning minu juhendajateks on Ester Bardone ja Karin Leivategija. Mind huvitab, mil viisil mängib toit meie elus nii tähtsat kui ka maitsvat rolli. Uurimuse teema on aktuaalne nii Eestis kui ka globaalselt, kuna see näitlikustab, kuidas toit ühendab meid sotsiaalselt, keskkondlikult, kultuuriliselt ja ajalooliselt.

Tõlge: Johan Uibopuu

***Culturing Cheese: Estonian Goat Milk Farming and Artisanal Made Products* is an exhibition about handmade goat milk products made by three small farmers here in Estonia.**

The three farms portrayed in this exhibition are 7 Kitsetalle OÜ located in Türi Parish (Järva County), Hõbeda kitsefarm in Kadrina Parish (Lääne-Virumaa County), and OleMari talu in Palamuse Parish (Jõgeva County). This exhibition has three overarching themes that creates a bigger picture of food and heritage: goat milk artisanal products, working in and within the landscape and the idyllic rural countryside. Within these three themes other thought-provoking topics appear such as the relationship with the animals, important family values and morals, lifestyle preferences and the joys of working with goats. These are points of interest to the photographer and curator who invites visitors to engage and reflect on these matters. The exhibition is composed of two elements to create a more diverse experience: film photography and soundscapes.

About the photographer, researcher and curator

My name is Nichole Michelle Weimer, better known as Pono, and I am originally from the island of 'Oahu, Hawai'i. I have an academic background in cultural anthropology that was taught as an interdisciplinary study. I am currently a master's student of the University of Tartu in the Folklore and Applied Heritage Studies program under the supervision of Ester Bardone and Karin Leivategija. I am interested in the ways that food plays an important, and delicious, role in our lives. This research topic was chosen because it reflects the vital food ways, both locally and globally.

Appendix 2: Sound Exercises and Sound Maps

Sound exercise #1

We begin with a simple exercise. WRITE DOWN ALL THE SOUNDS YOU HEAR. Take a few minutes to do this; then, if you are in a group, read all the lists out loud, noting the difference.

Everyone will have a different list, for listening is very personal; and though some lists may be longer than others, all answers will be correct.

This simple exercise can be performed anywhere by anyone. It would be a good idea to try it several times in contrasting environments in order to get into the habit of listening.

Music playing
Car door slamming
Rustling of the leaves
Car driving past
Children laughing
Car engine starting
Hum of the engine
Neighbors talking
Bicycle bell ringing
Two children talking to each other
Buzzing of a fly
Running footsteps hitting against the pavement
Opening of the main building door + the latch clicking

Sound exercise #2

Now we are going to divide the lists in various ways. Start by assigning the letter N, H or T to each sound depending on whether it is a sound made by nature, a human sound or a technological (machine) sound. Which category predominates?

Music playing **H/T** (since humans make music but the radio is playing it)
Car door slamming **H/T** (the sound of the car door can't be made without a person)
Rustling of the leaves **N**
Car driving past **H/T**
Children laughing **H**

Car engine starting **H/T**
Hum of the engine **T**
Neighbors talking **H**
Bicycle bell ringing **H/T**
Two children talking to each other **H**
Buzzing of a fly **N**
Running footsteps hitting against the pavement **H**
Opening of the main building door + the latch clicking **H/T**

*The category of **human** predominates over the others. There are a lot of sounds produced only by humans such as the laughing, the talking, the running footsteps but there's also a lot of human interaction with **technological sounds** that wouldn't exist without the interference such as the engine of a car starting, the person ringing the bicycle bell, and opening the door.*

Now place an X beside each sound you produced yourself. Were most of the sounds on your list produced by you or others?

Perhaps only the music since I am controlling the choice of songs being played.

Some sounds continued unceasingly throughout your listening period; others may have been repetitive, occurring more than once, and some were heard once only. Assign the letters C for continuous, R for repetitive and U for unique before each sound on your list. (By the way, can you think of a sound that has been going on continuously ever since you began the exercise though you hadn't notice it until asked this question?)

Music playing **C**
Car door slamming **U**
Rustling of the leaves **R**
Car driving past **R**
Children laughing **U**
Car engine starting **U**
Hum of the engine **U**
Neighbors talking **U**
Bicycle bell ringing **U**
Two children talking to each other **U**
Buzzing of a fly **R**
Running footsteps hitting against the pavement **U**
Opening of the main building door + the latch clicking **R**

Sound exercise #15

Here are some flash questions for your diary:

What was the first sound you heard this morning on waking?

Birds twittering, the wind rustling through the tree leaves, my spouse washing his face

What was the last sound you heard last night before sleeping?

Muffled sounds of two people talking in the parking lot below, around 23.45

What was the loudest sound you heard today?

The vacuum cleaner

What was the most beautiful sound you heard today?

The laughter of two kids playing

Sound exercise #21

Here is a bit of homework. Go to a park or garden. You are to remain stationary, listening (perhaps with your eyes closed) until sounds pass you by in all four directions, one travelling east, one south, one west and one north. What were the sounds?

South: birds, people talking as they walked by

East: leaves in the wind, birds

North: cars driving on the nearby road

West: a dog barking as s/he chased a ball

Of course, it doesn't really matter what they were. The exercise is one of concentration, and while you are waiting for the sounds that will release you, you hear a myriad of others. The exercise could be done by a group as well as on your own, and in fact it might be more interesting to do it in the company of others.

Sound exercise #24

*Hearing gets to places where sight cannot. Ears see through walls and around corners. When something is hidden, sound will reveal its location and meaning. **Make a list of all the sounds you can think of that come from hidden places, sounds that are made by objects you have never seen.***

Water running in the pipe
Neighbors talking in the stairwell
Mice in the wall
Creatures in the roof/attic
Traffic on the main road/highway (does this count since I technically can't *see* it?)
Blood pumping (when you close your ears)
Heartbeats
Sounds made outside your window in the night, leaving you terrified

Sound exercise #30

Imagine I have a shovel in my hand. With your voice try to produce the sound as I shovel the following substances:

Coal
Sand
Gravel
Snow

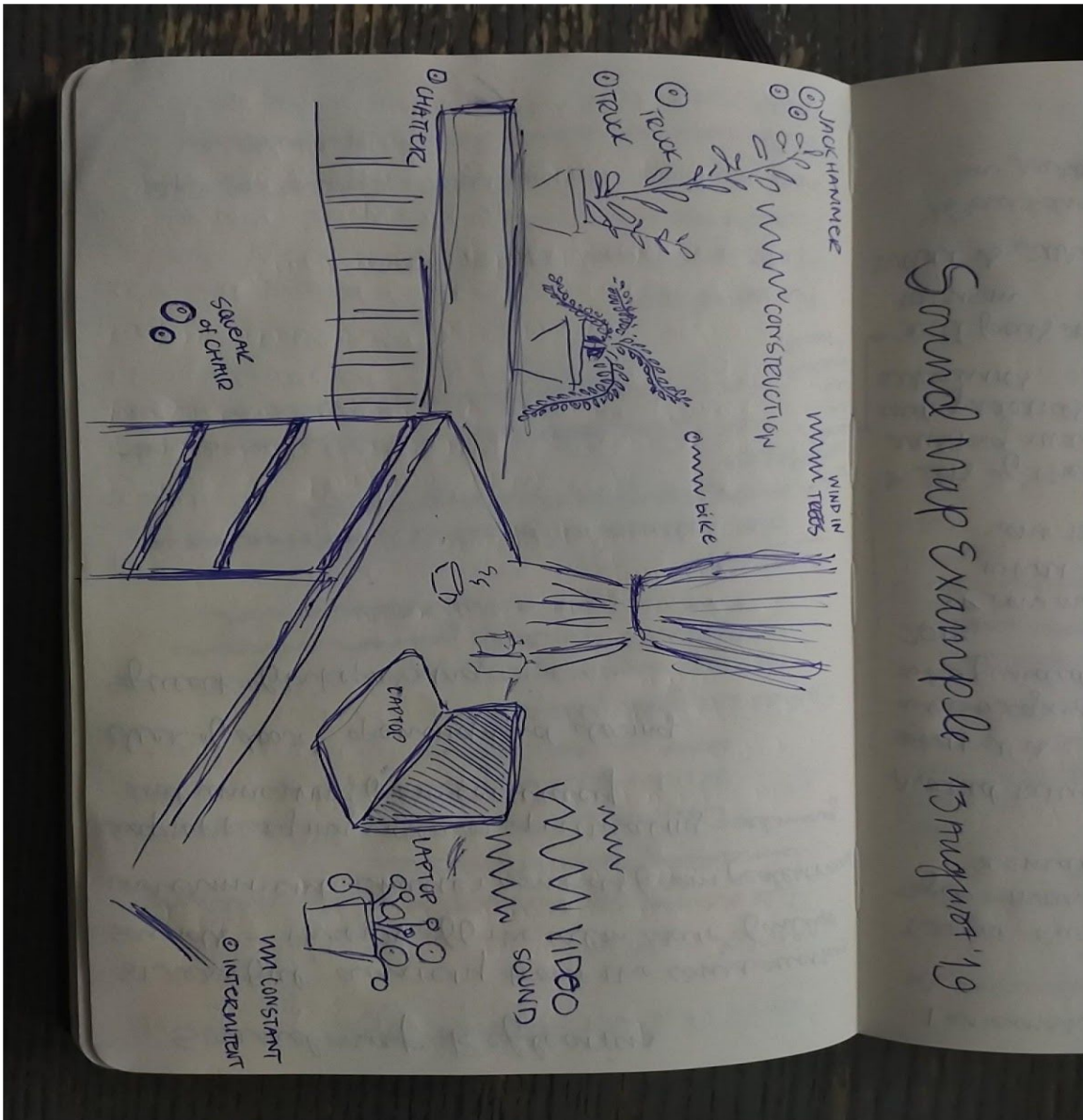
Of course it is difficult to imitate these sounds exactly, but you should try to imagine what the difference might be.

Sound exercise #81

We should not forget our own past. An assignment for your sound diary: write a short essay recording the first sounds you remember from your childhood.

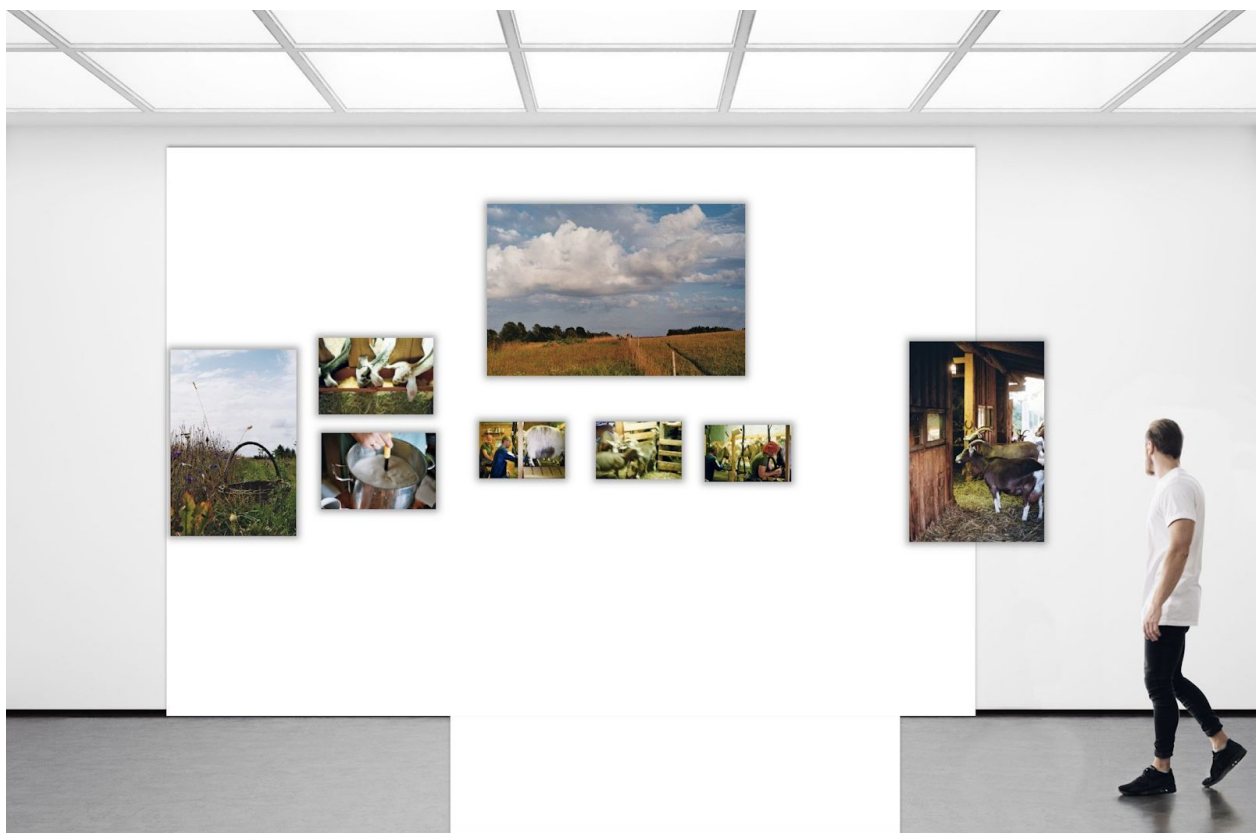
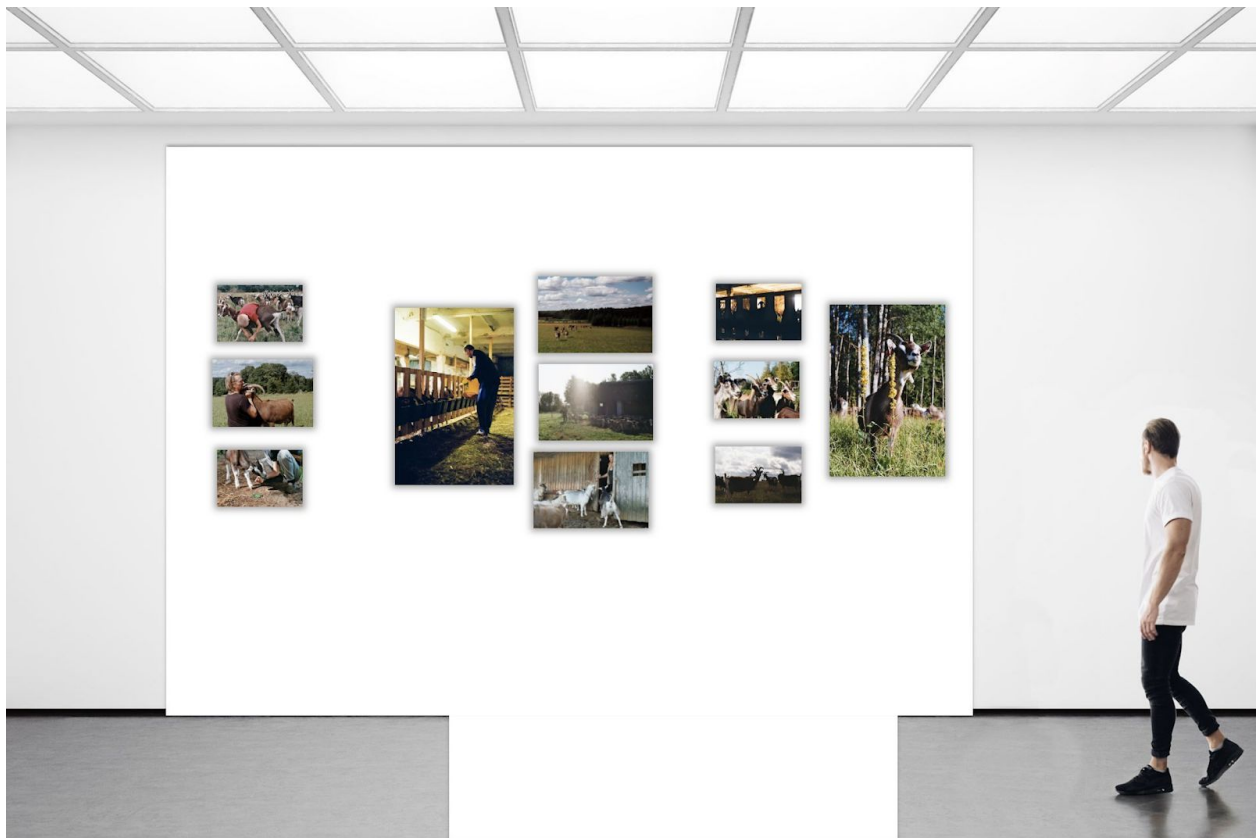
When I close my eyes and draw up memories from my childhood, the first sounds that I remember are the sounds of waves curling and crashing, the soft *shushing* of the waves against the warm sand, sand grains shifting beneath my feet, the palm leaves brushing against one another, my friends' childhood laughter, my mom speaking to me in Korean, the distant sound of laughter from my dad and his friends, the distant sound of my dad playing guitar and singing while I am in my bed, the rice pot whistling, the crinkle of plastic gloves that my mom is wearing to make kimchi, my mother humming in approval after tasting something, the sticky footsteps on the bamboo wood floor during a humid summer day, the slow squeak of the screen door closing, rain clanging against my grandparents tin roof, the deep rumble and crack of thunder during a tropical storm, the night chorus of the coquí frogs in Hilo, the susurrating of the dewy tropical plants brushing one another, splashing in the ocean and my hissing of my breath while blowing up an inflatable tube.

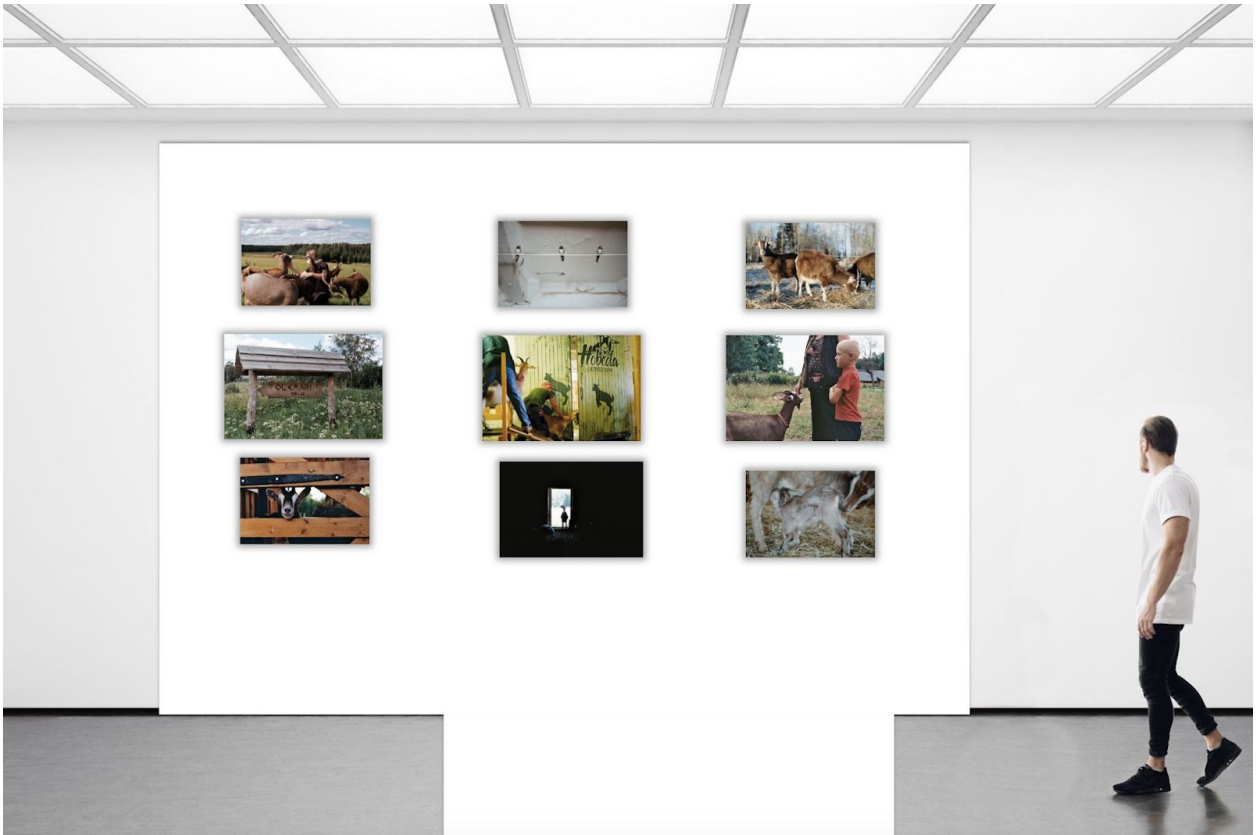
Sound Map



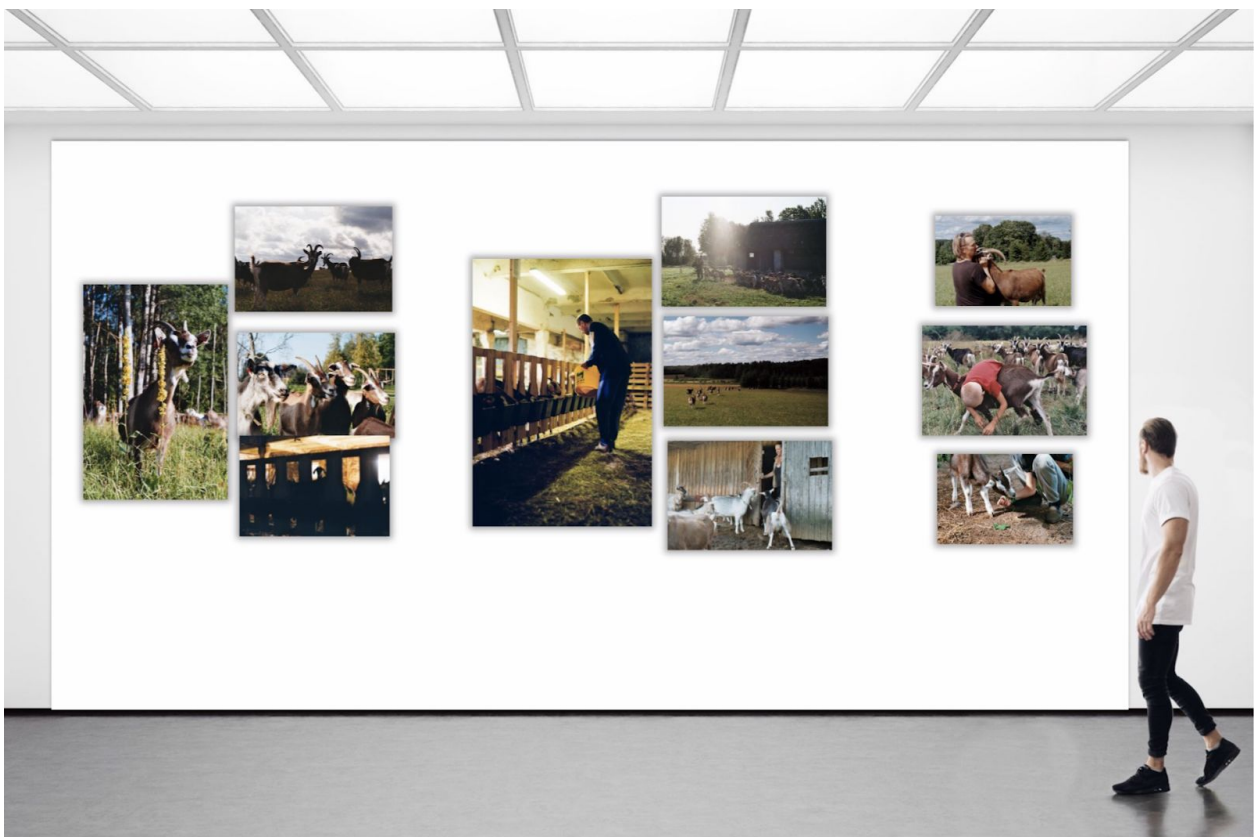
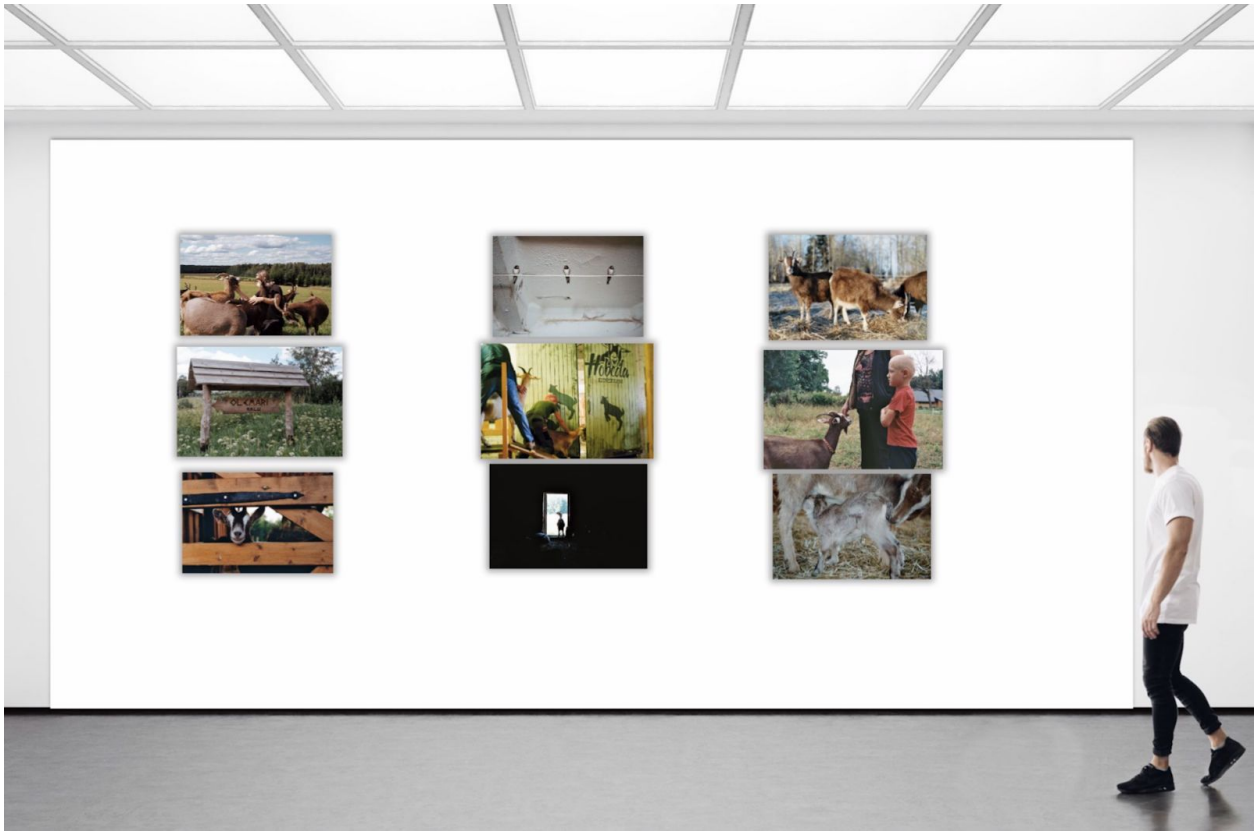
Exercise done at home

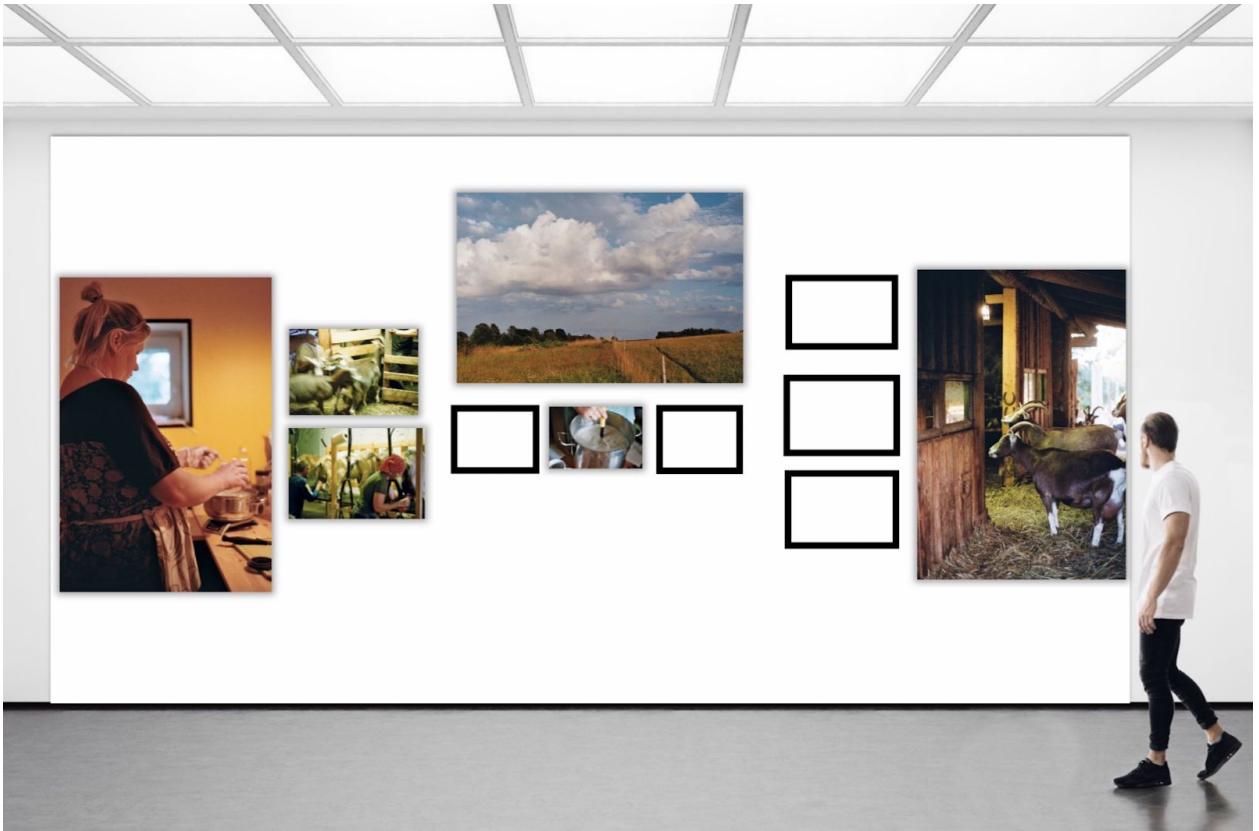
Appendix 3: ArtPlacer- Second review of photo layout





Appendix 4: ArtPlacer- Third review of photo layout





Appendix 5: Final selection of photographs presented at the exhibition

Outside of the Glass Wall (Showcasing each individual farm with corresponding photos)



Kogunemine karjamaal / Gathering in the Pasture
OleMari talu



Niidust vasakul / Left of the Meadow
OleMari talu



Piiludes läbi / Peeking Through
OleMari talu



Nooruse mägi / The Mountain of Youth
Hõbeda kitsefarm



Lahkumine lüpsilt / Milking Departure
Hõbeda kitsefarm



Ataraksia / Ataraxia
Höbada kítsefarm



Emadus / Motherhood
Hõbeda kitsefarm



Hommikusöök veebruaris / Breakfast in February
7 Kitsetalle

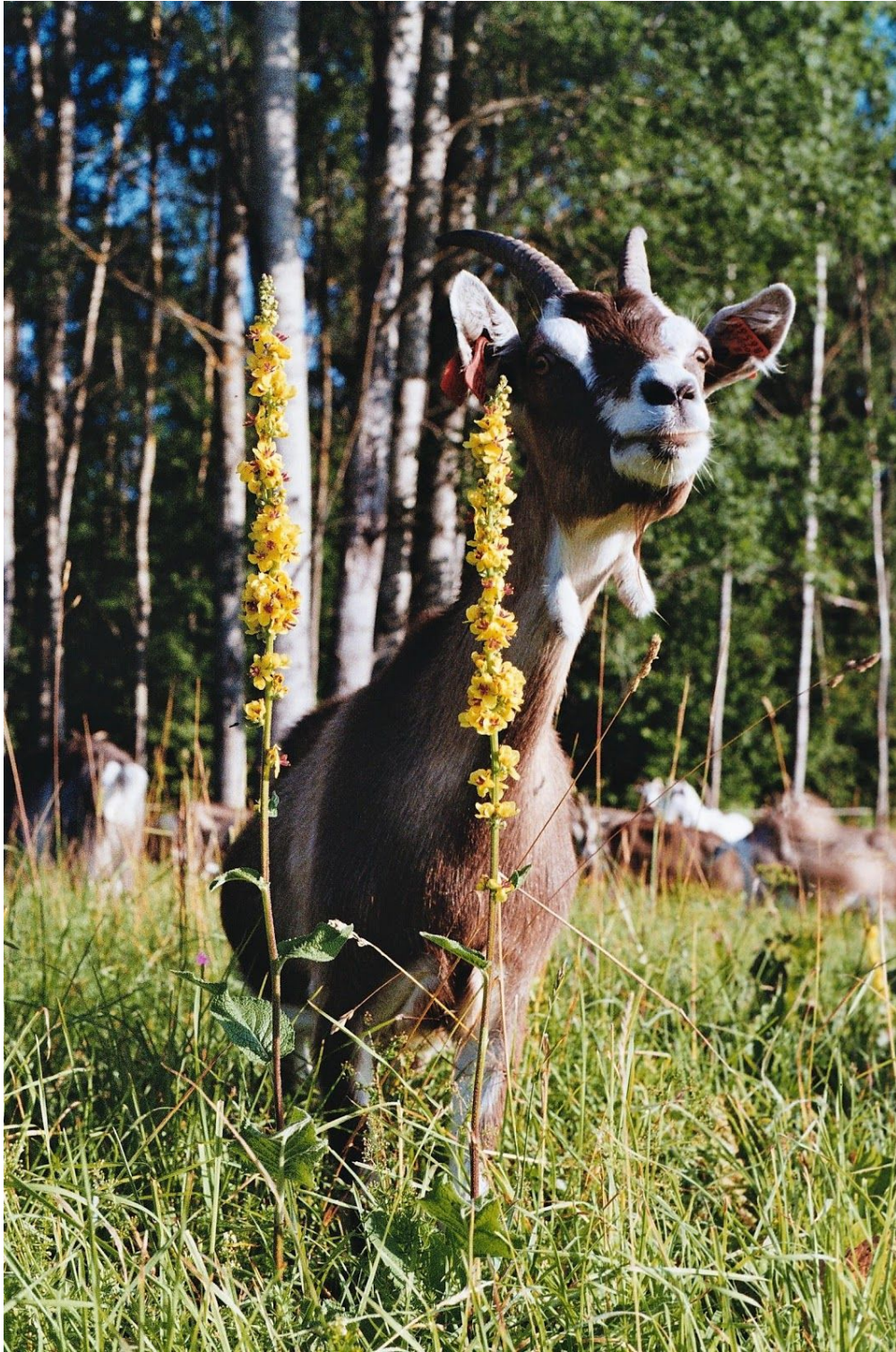


Olemise raskus / The Weight of Being
7 Kitsetalle



Pärastlõunane suupiste / Afternoon Snack
7 Kitsetalle

Inside the Glass Wall (Theme: Peculiarities of Goats)



Suur lillekiskja / The Great Flower Predator
7 Kitsetalle



Suvetuul / Summer Breeze
OleMari talu



Draama / Drama
7 Kitsetalle



Vaatlejat vaadeldes / The Observer Being Observed
Hõbeda kitsefarm

Inside the Glass Wall (Theme: Taskscape)



*Kaer / Oats
Höbeda kitsefarm*



Hilissuvi / Late Summer
7 Kitsetalle



Koju naasmine / Returning Home
OleMari talu



Lüpsiks joondumine / The Milking Line-up
7 Kitsetalle

Inside the Glass Wall (Theme: Relationship with Goats)



Õrn ja armastav hoolitsus / Tender Loving Care
OleMari talu



Printsessil ratsutamine / Riding Princess
7 Kitsetalle



„Kitsede maiustus” / “Candy of the Goats“
OleMari talu

Inside the Exhibition; Grey Wall (Theme: Artisanal Food Production Process)



Käsittää kitsejuust / Artisanal Goat's Cheese
7 Kitsetalle



Laagerdamine / Aging
Höbeda kitsefarm



Lüpsimeeskond / Milking Team
Hõbeda kütsefarm



Tormamine / Rushing in
OleMari talu



Soe piim / Warm Milk
7 Kitsetalle



Vahatamine / Waxing
Hõbeda kitsefarm



Maal / In the Countryside
OleMari talu



*Laagerdunud kitsepiimajuust küüslauguga, laagerdunud kitsepiimajuust tšilliga, laagerdunud
kitsepiimajuust sinepiseemnetega*

*Matured Goat's Milk Cheese with Garlic, Matured Goat's Milk Cheese with Chili, Matured Goat's Milk
Cheese with Mustard Seeds*

Hõbeda kitsefarm



Kitsepiima toorjuust lambaläütsega, ricotta kohupiim, kitsepiima praejuust piparmündiga
Goat's Milk Cream Cheese with Fenugreek, Ricotta Curd Cheese, Fried Cheese with Peppermint

OleMari talu



Grilljuust tšilliga, kitsepüimast juust õlis kuubikutena tüümiani-küüslaugu, grilljuust ürdiseguga

Grilled Cheese with Chili, Cubed Goat's Cheese in Oil with Thyme and Garlic, Grilled Cheese with Herbs

7 Kitsetalle



Vaatan ja ootan / Watching and Waiting
OleMari talu

Eestikeelne kokkuvõte

Eesti kitsepiima tootmine ning käsitööna valmivad tooted

Antud magistripjekt on näitus pealkirjaga „Eesti kitsepiima tootmine ning käsitööna valmivad tooted” ja koosneb kahest põhikomponendist: filmifotograafia ja helimaastikud. Näitusega on võimalik tutvuda Eesti Rahva Muuseumi Rahvakultuuri teabekeskuse ruumis 16. juunist 13. septembrini 2020. Projekti sisu on keskendunud käsitööna valmiva kitsejuustu tootmisele kolmes erinevas Eesti kitsefarmis: OleMari talu, Hõbeda kitsefarm ja 7 Kitsetalle OÜ.

Projekti eesmärk on pakkuda käsitöötoodust teistsugust vaatenurka läbi pildistamise ja sellega seostuva elustiiliga kaasnevate helide salvestamise, läbi farmerite lugude ja kogemuste. Uurimustööst ilmnnes neli tähtsat teemat, mis aitasid projekti kujundada: kitsede iseärasused, tööpiirkond, suhted kitsedega ja käsitööprotsess. Fotod ja helimaastikud on grupeeritud vastavalt teemadele. Selle projekti eesmärk on luua näituse külastajatele mitmekesisem kogemus ja tõsta teadlikkust farmerite tähtsast rollist toidu kultuurilises pärimuses. Autor täpsustab, et projekti eesmärk ei ole kujutada kogu „tõde” eesti kultuurilisest pärimusest, vaid pigem pakkuda teistsugust vaatenurka ja nägemust filmile ja helilindile püütust.

Valik eelistada filmifotograafiat digitaalsele tulenes soovist filmi omaduste abil tuua esile loomulik ilu koos oma ebatäiustega. Helimaastikud võimaldavad luua fotodega sügavama sideme ja kutsuda külastajaid looma oma nägemust piltidest. Lõplikul näitusel on kokku 32 fotot, 4 helimaastikku ja 1 tekstiline komponent. Näitusel nähtav eestikeelne kirjalik tekst on leitav lisas 1.

Projekti toetavad teooriad on Tim Ingoldi poolt tutvustatud „tegestik” ning samuti nähtav ja kuuldav etnograafia, mis olid ka välitöödel ja projekti valmimisel kasutatud meetoditeks.

Lõputöö jaguneb viieks peatükiks. Esimene peatükk räägib farmerite kogemustest ja lugudest, mis viisid projekti nelja teema väljakujunemiseni ja samuti käsitöötoodete valmimiseni. Selles osas on samuti arutletud ning rakendatud eneseanalüüsi välitööde teemal. Teine peatükk keskendub „tegestiku” kontseptsioonile, kolmas ja neljas peatükk selgitavad nähtava ning kuuldava etnograafia teoreetilist ja empiirilist kasutust, peale mida järgneb

eneseanalüüs. Kolmas ja neljas peatükk räägivad lõplikul näitusel kasutatavate materjalide, nagu heliklipid ja fotod, kogumise protsessist. Viimane peatükk kirjeldab kogu näituse kureerimise protsessi. Esimene alapeatükk keskendub lõplike piltide valimise protsessile ning teine alapeatükk nelja helimaastiku loomisele. Kolmas alapeatükk räägib muusemi ruumiga töötamisest ja Eesti Kultuurkapitali abiraha avaldusest. Viimane alapeatükk annab ülevaate näituse vernissaažist ja publiku hinnangust.

Antud projekti eesmärk on valgustada, kuidas käsitöötoit moodustab kogu võrgustiku keskme ja kuidas neli teemat kajastuvad läbi selle. Käsitöötoit ei ole teekonna „lõpp” ega ka selle „mõte”, vaid pigem kätkevad käsitöötooted endas nende kolme farmeri ja ehk ka eesti kultuuripärandi tähtsaid väärtusi ja moraalsust. Toit on imeline meeldetuletus meie kultuuripärandist, traditsioonidest ja viisist, kuidas need on määratud tulevaste põlvkondadega igavesti arenema.

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10.08.2020