

How is product and furniture design influenced and created
through an understanding of culture?

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Introduction

This dissertation will consider the role of culture and aesthetics in the creation of product and furniture design. I will be focusing on Swedish and Scandinavian design as a cultural case study, comparing the government, environment and the arts from the late 19th and early 20th century. This will demonstrate the impact of Sweden's cultural history and how it is reflected within Ikea's approach and philosophy to design, marketing and management in the modern day.

Section 1 will consider the word culture through defining its theoretical makeup, to construct a full understanding of culture, considering texts from a wide range of theorists and cultural historians such as Ben Highmore, Guy Julier and Penny Sparkle. Within this chapter, I discuss the complexity of culture through considering where culture comes from, how it is transferred to different communities, the natural self-blindness to our own culture, and how the ideas of cultural design travel across the world.

Section 2 examines how the theoretical side of the word culture is supported by evidence in the physical world. I will do this by separating culture into three distinct and instrumental categories of government, environment and the arts.

- Government: In this section I consider the history of Sweden in the early 20th century, discussing how poverty, famine and mass migration led to social reform within the government in 1929. This social reform (creation of the welfare state) and caring nature of the Swedish government plays a part in the methodology and aesthetics of how Ikea design their products.
- Environment: In this section I discuss how nature influenced Scandinavian design through comparing a house in Sweden, a cold country and a house in Malta, a hot country. Through analysing the differences between these houses, the design decisions that were taken to survive in the environment can be clearly seen. This design ethos of designing for a specific market can be seen within Scandinavian design and the construction of Ikea.
- Art: In this final section I discuss the impact that Carl Larsson's paintings had on Scandinavian design with the depiction of his values through family and his home. These family values have become essential to the construction of the Ikea catalogue,

forming Ikea's marketing strategy and making Larsson's images a global export through Scandinavian design.

In this dissertation I will be aiming to answer the question, how is product and furniture design influenced and created through an understanding of culture?

Section 1: Defining the makeup of culture.

There are countless definitions of culture. General consensus within early 2000 and late 2010 literature in addition to the Cambridge Dictionary describes culture as a “way of life” (Highmore, 2016, p.3; Julier, 2008, p.3; Cambridge Dictionary, 2024). This broad term can be broken down into certain categories including, economics, history, religion, language, art, custom and even nature (Highmore, 2016: Julier, 2008). It can be very easy to mistake everything as culture “Because everything (or an aspect of everything) can be absorbed within a cultural perspective, it is easy to make the mistake that nothing exists outside of culture” (Highmore, 2016, p.21). There is a little bit of culture in everything and that is why it is perceived to be all imposing, as a word and as a concept.

Penny Sparke a design historian defines culture as a “concept which embraces the ideas and values expressed by modern society as a whole” (Sparke, 1986, p. xix). Sparke highlights that culture cannot be measured, as it has no metric, because ideas and values are a personal thing, but it becomes a culture when a whole community have the same or similar ideas and values. This cultural education is “transmitted by a community that educates the child” (Highmore, 2016, p. 52) and forms areas such as language, religion, customs and art (Highmore, 2016, p. 3). This education in culture is a self-feeding loop whereby learning one part such as language enables a person to learn another. An example of this is religion; this requires learning language, in order to learn religion, and then through this, customs and traditions are taught, and a religious culture can be created (Highmore, 2016, p. 2).



Fig. 1: *Poty Armchair*.

In design this self-educated culture can be displayed by a person in their work intentionally or unintentionally. Figure 1 shows the Brazilian designed Poty Armchair, the designer Lucas Fialho Caramés was influenced by the local Craft Culture of the Delta Parnaíba (local area in Brazil). The Poty Armchair is an intentional and obvious use of self-educated culture through design. Every product has a hint of the designer's culture because of their community education; "community...educates the child" (Highmore, 2016, p. 52). Ironically, people tend not to see their own culture unless it is highlighted to them. "Sometimes we can only see our cultural world through the eyes of others" (Highmore, 2016, p. 28). This self-blindness can be hidden within the designer's products as they can be considered as common within their community. However, upon the designer travelling, they can see what is considered common within different communities highlighting to themselves, their own design culture, as culture is a matter of perspective.

The ideas of design and culture in contemporary society were formed in small communities around the world. "Design culture exists at a very local level" (Julier, 2000, p.4) with culture partially derived from societal groups (Highmore, 2016). At the turn of the century, this local community started to get bigger. This was due to mass production, and mass migration to cities. With mass production and migration came a "huge increase in population and the

wealth of the masses” (Sparke, 1986, p.3). This increase in wealth allowed people, ideas and products to travel around the world. This opened “the expansion of mass consumption to include consumers who had not had the same possibilities as before” (Sparke, 1986, p.110). This push to global consumerism of products came with a loss of culture and a rise in one dominant culture. This is evidenced within Swedish culture and the creation of Ikea (discussed in later sections) whereby one design platform became prevalent (Ikea Museum, 2024f).

The rise in one dominant culture in contemporary society created a designer that must adapt their designs to fit the needs of the consumer, but also make their product meaningful, finding the balance between production and consumption (Julier, 2000 p.66). This can be seen within Ikea’s business and design philosophy today (Ikea Museum, 2024h) (discussed in later sections). The want to design something meaningful is outweighed by the consumer and budget of the company. To balance these parameters as a designer, products can be culturally void. This process is known as “anonymous design” (Julier, 2000, p. 77). These anonymously designed products have been so well designed for a mass market that you cannot point to where they came from. Despite there being a designer for the product, such as the zipper and pencil neither have a designer attached to them but are widely known items (Julier, 2000, p. 77). The zipper for example was designed by an American, Whitcomb L. Judson in 1893 (Friedel, 1994) and despite being a product used daily by billions it has no design culture.

This lack of culture in design was a purposeful movement. “[F]rom the 1920s to the 1960s, they deliberately avoided romantic notions of creativity and individuality in the production of cultural artefacts” (Julier, 2000 p.59). At this time, it was about simple products that could be bought and sold anywhere. America had the slogan “faster, better, cheaper” (Julier, 2000 p. 36) as this was what the new customer market dictated, due to a shift in cultures and companies being “faced with a global market” (Highmore, 2016, p. 19). In contemporary society the direction and ethos of design has changed. Companies want to produce products with cultural hints from the designer.

“The modern industrial designer has both a technical and cultural background” (Sparke, 1986, p. 94). Although this quote is from 1986 it is still relevant today, because of the drive for sustainability. Governments are pushing companies to become local to reduce their overall carbon footprint. In the United Kingdom manufacturing companies such as “Heineken, Kellogg’s, Toyota and Britvic are among businesses across the UK to be awarded a share of £24.3 million government funding” (Department for Energy Security and Net Zero, 2023) to reduce their carbon footprint. This means products travel less during manufacturing and development which in turn, allows a local community and culture to have an impact on the products, design and manufacturing techniques.

A government can define, shape and protect a community’s culture. Most governments have a “ministry of culture” (Highmore, 2016, p.5). This job role includes “divisions of fine arts, cultural heritage, international relations, cultural diversity and sport” (Highmore, 2016, p.5). The range of different areas is important. It shows the desire of the government to keep, acknowledge and grow their own culture as it holds a historic importance and an identity to the local community. The government want the community to educate the children in their culture as it creates a diverse and knowledgeable population. When designing, this cultural education can lead to the designer’s culture influencing their design without them even knowing.

In the 1800’s to parts of 1900’s, governments and companies would start to take part in exhibitions called world fairs. “World’s Fairs contained the ‘whole world’ in small bundles of produce and culture” (Highmore, 2016, p.49). These events would have been a place for an enormous cultural exchange. This exchange of culture allowed different ideas, trends and styles to travel globally. In modern times we would call this style of cultural, and idea exchange, an exhibition. One of the biggest international exhibitions is the Milano, Salone Internazionale del Mobile (the Milan International Furniture Fair). The Milan International Furniture Fair describes itself as “a meeting point and a place for new opportunities to reflect on the world of design” (Salone del Mobile. Milano, 2024). These events allow a new

perspective for designers and people to observe a different culture and a unique way of thinking. This could be with a new technique, material or a style, inspiring a designer from one culture to adopt another culture's ideas, technique, material or style.

Cultural design is neither good nor bad, it is dependent on the person's perception of it. There are instances of a cultural clash and the lack of acceptance to adapt or adopt different cultures. A country's culture can be carried within a company, for example "Ikea is not just selling products, it's also selling its philosophy – this is how things are done in Sweden" (Lewis, 2008, p.157). Ikea sells the philosophy of self-sufficiency, humility and orderliness within their products. These values are considered good in Europe however in North America these important values are different. Ikea struggled when they first entered the North American market as Americans were culturally different compared to the Swedish.

Initially, Ikea stubbornly refused to size its beds and kitchen cabinets to fit US sheets and appliances. The Ikea beds were sold in centimetre sizes, whereas the Americans were used to king sized or queen-sized beds. The Scandinavian-style bookshelves were too small to hold a television for Americans who wanted entertainment shelving systems. Ikea vases were selling out, because its glasses were deemed too small for the super-size thirsts of Americans. The European-style sofas were too hard for American bottoms, and the Ikea dining room tables weren't big enough to fit a turkey into the centre on Thanksgiving (Lewis, 2008, p.160).

Ikea's unwavering choice to not change or adapt to America's different culture resulted in a stark shock to the success they had experienced in Europe. The refusal to change their measurements was a big cultural factor to ignore, as it is part of American education (governmental culture) to teach the imperial measurement system (National Geographic, 2024). This would evidently put off most of Ikea's American customers, as they do not fully understand metric measurements, this in-turn meant that the size of Ikea's products were hard for them to grasp, making the shopping experience inconvenient. Ikea needed "to understand experience from a cultural perspective" (Highmore, 2016, p.95). To conquer the American market, Ikea would need to culturally change and adapt to it. They eventually did so by changing their measurement and designing sizes specifically for Americans.

The adoption of American culture was a first for Ikea; it already had success within Sweden and other parts of Europe without changing their values. This is due to certain similarities within the three main pillars of culture: government, environment and the arts. It is these defining factors that change a country and community through their individual impact, slowly changing the perception of a culture and country. The culture of Sweden for example has a synonymous relationship with design thanks to Ikea who favour Scandinavian design. Ikea has exported Scandinavian design and Swedish values worldwide, from its roots “in an undeveloped region in the middle of nowhere” (Lewis, 2008, p.62). This rural foundation means Ikea, and Scandinavian design were built on the direct results of the country and culture of Sweden.

Section 2: Impact of design culture

The Swedish people have faced a lot of challenges in their past. Sweden's history and long-term development of culture has impacted upon its beliefs, policies and design execution. Sweden is a Nordic country that has a vast and deep culture that is spread through its government, art, environment, companies and people. It has an overall community willingness to look after the less fortunate in society with social and governmental policies. In combination with a powerful independent Swedish spirit and drive to make do with what you have, this Swedish attitude has not only pushed a country forward socially and culturally but also in the field of design. This is "An old culture of consensus and a long-standing domestic peace" (Rojas, 2005, p.19) because they look after each other and care about their local community. However this is changing over the recent years due to a diversifying population and tensions between who deserves the benefits from the 'welfare state'.

Government

The welfare state forms a huge part of Sweden's history and is a key aspect of its culture. "For centuries, poverty had been a hallmark of Sweden" (Rojas, 2005, p.7). This poverty had pushed the Swedish population to the point of breaking; "The famine of 1867–68 triggered an enormous migration" (Rojas, 2005, p.17) The famine made one million Swedish people migrate to the "new world" (IKEA Museum, 2024f). The result of this time of hardship, laid the foundations to allow the Swedish government to make drastic changes to the political system.

In 1928 the Social Democrat party and the Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson introduces the word "Folkhemmet - the Swedish Welfare State" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2024) to the Swedish people. The idea behind the welfare state was to raise the standard of living for the nation. This would be through well-funded public services, such as hospitals, public transport and education. The government also started building new small affordable apartments in villages, towns and cities across the country (IKEA Museum, 2024f). The

reforms of the welfare state had the result of “a high rate of growth, low levels of unemployment and an unparalleled system of social welfare” (Rojas, 2005, p.4).

The money to fund the reforms of the welfare state was from the Swedish taxpayer. Swedish people pay one of the highest tax rates in the world, but most Swedes don't mind paying high taxes as they know that they get it back in return, with good free and cheap public services. The people “gain a considerable amount of liberty within the national community formed by the state” (Rojas, 2005, p.11). This has made Sweden a country with a high standard of living (BBC Global, 2021). These policies and public attitude, demonstrates Sweden's overall quiet care for one another through its political ideology, community culture and values. It's an overall fair system as the government is not just taking from the people but gives it back to them in ways that they can see, day to day.

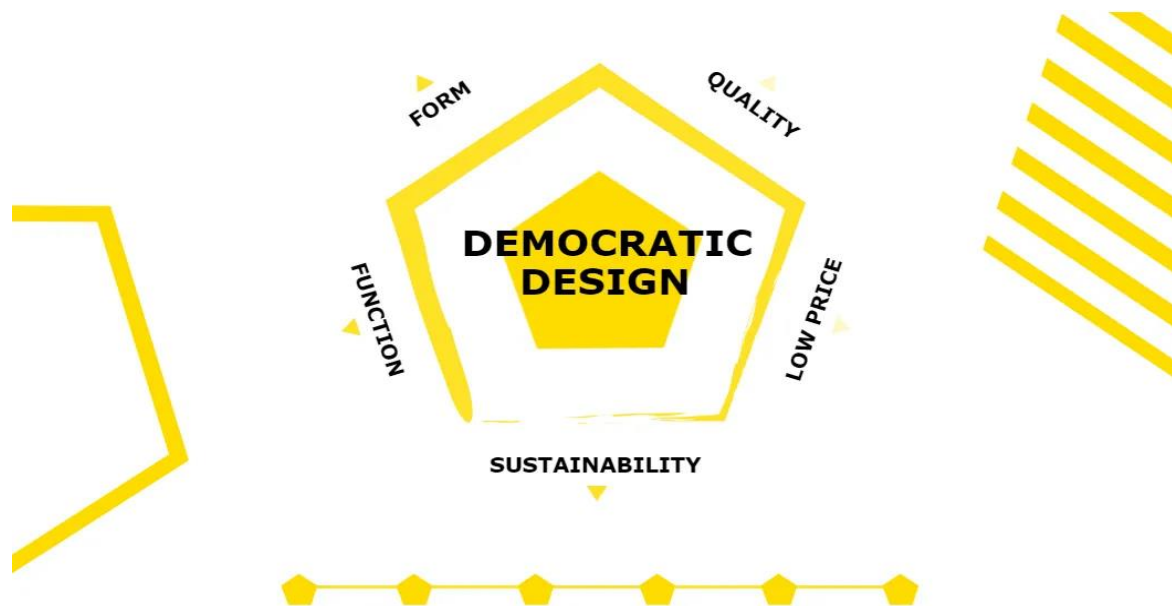


Fig. 2: *Democratic Design.*

The reforms of the Swedish welfare state had a considerable impact on design and Ikea. “modern Scandinavian design was underpinned by a democratic ideal to design that seeks the enhancement of life through affordable products and technology” (Lewis, 2008 p. 76.) The reforms were about making a better life for everybody through simple and affordable design. Ikea use government culture in their design process. Figure 2 presents Ikea's design method of democratic design. “The core of Ikea's appeal is affordable design” (Lewis, 2008,

p. 182). This value of an affordable price is a direct result of the views of the welfare state and the founder's upbringing in Sweden. All of Ikea's furniture and products have to adhere to the democratic design pentagon, with function being a culturally created part of Scandinavian design.

Culture has formed the foundations of modern Scandinavian design. The social factors of culture such as economical, governmental and communal caused the governmental reforms of Folkhemmet meaning The Swedish Welfare State. This had a direct impact on Scandinavian design. The government wanted to make "affordable products and technology" (Lewis, 2008 p.76) to help Swedish population out of poverty. The reforms pushed Sweden to increase its mass production capabilities. With the rate of economic growth from the reforms came with "the expansion of mass consumption" (Sparke, 1986, p.110: Ikea Museum, 2024f). The increase in the living standards for the Swedish people created a consumer culture, pushing forward the design and aesthetics of products and furniture.

Environment

The environmental impact of culture on modern Scandinavian design was its simplicity and access to natural materials. This simplicity and accessibility allowed Scandinavian design to be heavily adopted as a design style, because it favoured mass production. Guy Julier states that, "the 'holy grail' of the designer in their perpetual attempt to make products 'meaningful' by getting the right fit between production and consumption" (Julier, 2000, p.66), forced the designers of Ikea and other communities to use what was available to them in the local area. A specific style of design would come from these natural enforced parameters and was to be known within Sweden as Scandinavian design. The environment's contribution to Scandinavian design is simplicity and functionality. The aesthetics of Ikea's products feel localised to their origins. These local materials and simple designs promote a warm, natural and family feel to Ikea's products and Scandinavian design.



Fig. 3: Vinter på Kv. Lugnet 5b, Båtsmansbacken i Växjö. 1940-tal.



Fig.4: Kv. Lugnet 5b, Båtsmansbacken i Växjö. 1940-tal.

Sweden is a wet, cold and snowy environment for most of the year, as part of human survival as a species it was a necessity to make shelter from the environment. Figure 3 and 4 presents a typical house in Småland in the summer and in the winter of 1940. This part of Sweden has a harsh environment. The houses are designed to withstand the elements, for example the steep gable roof allows less accumulation of snow and stops the roof from collapsing under the weight of it (Young-Bae, Rack-Woo & Lee, 2023, pp. 196 - 197). This is a key principle of Scandinavian design; it has to have a simplistic design with a small number of components, meaning it is easy to make. The second part of Scandinavian design is functionality; in the case of a house it needs to protect a person from the elements i.e. keeping the snow off the roof. Focusing on these two key design elements makes a product or a house, simple and modest but functional.

Sweden consists of many remote regions and within these “Self-sufficiency was common... so the design focussed on the practical and functional” (Lewis, 2008, p. 76). There was a large emphasis on using and utilizing every bit of raw materials, which were available in the local environment. In figure 3 and 4 the house is a predominantly wooden structure. Wood is an abundant resource; Småland is described as “forests dominating the landscape” (Lewis, 2008 p.62). This abundant material is used extensively in the construction of houses as well as the furnishings of them. This use of local and available material creates a key element of Scandinavian design and gives the product or furniture a naturalistic feel. The knowledge and education of the community thereby determines the type of product being created making design and culture intrinsically linked. Highmore states “the material culture of this contemporary culture was the pinnacle of evolution” (Highmore, 2016, p.31). Cultural design thereby evolves alongside the materials provided by the environment making design dependent upon the culture it is situated within. This can be evidenced within figure 3 and 4 whereby a house designed for a colder climate is completely different to that of a hot climate.



Fig. 5: *Houses at the ferries in SLIEMA during the 1930s. Malta.*

Malta is a country in the Mediterranean Sea that has a hot and dry climate but is still part of Europe. Malta experiences very little rain fall and is a dry, arid landscape. Figure 5 shows some houses in Malta. The houses are made from local stone as it's available easily, have flat roofs because it does not rain a lot and have small windows to keep the sun from heating up the room. Comparatively the house in figure 3 and 4 is the opposite, made of wood with a steep gable to allow snow and rain to run off, and has bigger windows to let light in during the winter months. The houses and other aspects of design are “the result of generations and generations of technological adjustments” (Highmore, 2016, p.31) that were needed for survival from the elements. Figures 3, 4 and 5 display the same elements that drive culture forward and are the result of generational community education.

Culture creates the purpose of design. In figures 3, 4 and 5 the purpose of the house was to shelter from the elements. The need for shelter and subsequently the furnishings and products inside demonstrate that “designers and producers are also consumers” (Julier, 2000, p.194). A designer recognises a problem which they want to improve, this is in part due to the community and cultural education of the designer. Culture also plays an important role in the aesthetics of design. Swedish and Scandinavian design value simple and low-cost pieces of furniture, which have become a global standard due to “mass

domestic design styles” (Sparke, 1986, p.121). This demonstrates how concentrating on simplistic design and function of products utilising the local environment can influence the design culture and aesthetic.

Art

The artistic cultural impact on modern Scandinavian design has an unknowingly global reach through Ikea’s catalogues which can be considered a cultural export in their own right having a major influence over large populations. The Ikea catalogue is arguably a “packaged...discrete and consumable ‘brand’” (Highmore, 2016, p.49). Carl Larsson’s painting’s (figure 6 to 9) and depictions of his family have helped Ikea reach a global market. The imitation of Larsson’s key values (figure 6 to 9) of family, simplicity and practicality within their home décor, is one of Sweden’s biggest ideological exports. Scandinavian design is presented through the Ikea catalogues to the wider world and other cultures as “unswervingly Swedish” (Lewis, 2008, p.160). This is in part due to Ikea’s deep connections to its cultural roots but also Larsson’s paintings.



Fig. 6: *Flowers on the Windowsill.*



Fig. 7: *Lazy Nook.*



Fig. 8: *Azalea.*



Fig. 9: *Required Reading.*

Larsson's subject for his painting's was "his family and his home" (French & Gerrard, 1997: IKEA Museum, 2024f). With the help of his wife Karin who was a textile designer they furnished their home together. Carl's paintings of his home, wife and children "became part of the Swedish psyche" (French & Gerrard, 1997). His paintings were successful because they depicted a home that was light and filled with life. This light and simple home was in opposition to the traditional trend in Sweden. Larsson argued to "strip away gaudiness, embrace primary" (French & Gerrard, 1997: IKEA Museum, 2024f). In modern terms this would be considered a harmonious relationship between form and function over unnecessary aesthetic detail. Through keeping the design simple with minimal design aesthetics Larsson had created the foundation of what would become Scandinavian design.

Larsson's paintings that depict his and Karin's home have been credited at the Victoria and Albert Museum with the title "Carl and Karin Larsson: creators of the Swedish style" (French & Gerrard, 1997: IKEA Museum, 2024f). The Larsson's simple and functional interior design style championing less is more, now plays a key role in the marketing and imagery of Sweden's biggest furniture retailer, Ikea.



Fig. 10: Ikea 2020 Catalogue p.3.

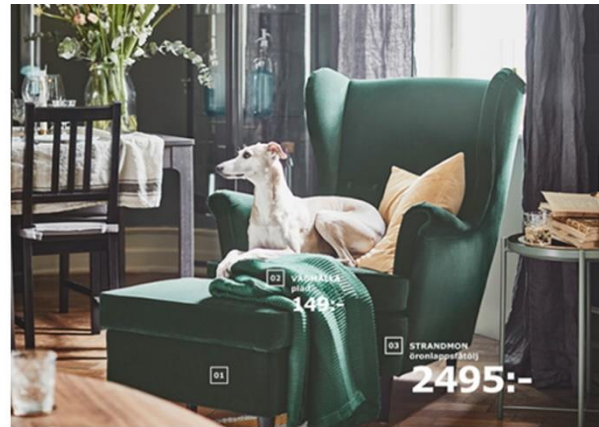


Fig. 11: Ikea 2019 Catalogue p.74.



Fig. 12: Ikea 2015 Catalogue p.2.



Fig. 13: Ikea 2019 Catalogue p.11.

Ikea's catalogues were an iconic and integrally important component of Ikea's history (IKEA Museum, 2024f). Figure 10 to 13 are pictures from some of Ikea's catalogues; they depict a bright pallet and warmth of family life. The images have a striking likeness to Carl Larsson's paintings of his family and of his home. Breaking down Larsson's paintings the theme of family was key, often painting his children and wife. This had the effect of presenting an idealistic home (French & Gerrard, 1997).

In the 70's Ikea started to put people within their catalogues interacting with their products. This small detail of making the sets and houses lived in could be as simple as making a small mess or putting shoes on their side (figure 10 to 13). These small unnoticeable additions make a product, and a picture appear more loved. Carl Larsson's paintings were popular because the image of his home was obtainable. Ikea do the same with their imagery and marketing making a person fall in love with an item through the promise of the ideal family

environment that comes with it. Larsson's paintings and Ikea's marketing catalogue demonstrate the influence art has on our cultural desires for our home. The products and furnishings bought from Ikea have been through the aesthetic and functional ideologies of Carl Larsson and Sweden as a nation.

Conclusion

Modern products and furniture design styles are a result of the “community that educates the child” (Highmore, 2016, p.52). Community education is in part due to, the government impacting the economy and social ideology. The welfare reforms of the 1920s led to the Swedish government implementing a democratic design philosophy (see figure 2) to make furniture more accessible and this design methodology is embraced by Ikea. The reforms brought about a better quality of life and high tax rates which meant the health and social care of the Swedish population was looked after. As a result products and furniture became more affordable subsequently stimulating the economy thus creating the need for new products, resulting in a self-feeding loop.

One part of this self-feeding loop is the evolutionary aspect of design as demonstrated by the houses in figures 3, 4 and 5. The main purpose of a house is to shelter from the elements and Sweden experiences a harsh winter with snow, meaning construction must be quick and efficient within summer periods. For this reason houses in Sweden from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century were primarily made from timber as they were easy and quick to construct (see figures 3 and 4). In comparison, the house in Malta (see figure 5) had no major threat from the environment, and was built from stone which was a slower building process. The construction of these houses was dictated by the environment but also the material that could fit their individualistic timeline and availability. The result of this need for survival was a community educated value and ethos around design. In Sweden we can see the development of a harmonious relationship between form and function. This comes with the added benefit of using only necessary material and keeping cost low. This forms an element of the democratic design methodology used by Ikea and forms part of Scandinavian design.

Carl Larsson forms an integral part of the Scandinavian design culture and played a fundamental role in the creation of the Ikea catalogue. Larsson’s paintings (see figures 6 to 10) depict his family and a light, modern, loved home. Through this he conveyed his own personal values and these ideals were absorbed into Swedish culture and community values.

The imagery and subsequent values of Larsson's paintings are manifested today within Scandinavian design. Much of this is due to Ikea creating similar imagery in their marketing campaigns and catalogues, depicting a family and home that is lived in and obtainable for everybody. These ideals of simplicity between form and function are also part of the democratic design process and a key value of Scandinavian design and Swedish culture.

Culture is perceived by someone who is not part of that culture. Highmore states, we can only "see our cultural world through the eyes of others" (Highmore, 2016, p.28). A person's understanding and perception of culture is thereby influenced by the community education and environment they are raised in. This means "Design culture exists at a very local level" (Julier, 2000, p.4). The locality of design culture is affected by the government, environment and local art. Designers take small parts of their culture with them when they design, making products a direct result of culture. Ikea and subsequently Scandinavian design are an example of a dominant design culture.

The mass globalisation of the world has created a large community that educates us in culture. In Sweden a local design culture has grown to a point of commonality through its construction of a simplistic design ethos. This has formed the basis of what is globally known as Scandinavian design. The fundamentals of democratic design and the elements, with governmental ideas and ideologies, form the basis of Scandinavian design and this is understood globally as Ikea. The origins of Ikea in rural Sweden have had a massive impact on the way the company operates and presents itself as "unswervingly Swedish" (Lewis, 2008, p.160). This cultural identity has become part of how they design their products, creating a harmonious relationship between function and form, providing an affordable product with good quality. All these points have their foundations in elements of culture that I have discussed throughout this dissertation.

In conclusion, culture not only affects design and aesthetics of products and furniture, but creates it, through a complex and intertwining relationship with government, environment

and the arts. Design culture however is not created overnight. It is a long evolutionary process that takes years to become perceived as culture. These evolutionary effects of culture have a direct influence on product and furniture design today. Whilst the effect of culture on an individual can be unique, impacted upon through their education, its influence within design practice is externally apparent, socially and culturally influenced and must evolve to fit changing ideals. Culture is a self-feeding loop, inspiring design practice and feeding off these changes. The catalyst of culture thereby is intertwined within design practice, evolving with new modern standards, as culture dictates.

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