

Is hygge still hygge in Britain?



Artwork by:

Hygge Bands (Facebook, 2018)

The Little Book of Hygge... (Amazon, 2019)

Jeartyca, Hygge Pillow..., 18x18 Pillow Cover (Amazon, 2019)

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Table of contents

Table of contents	2
1. Problem Area	3
1.2. Research questions	4
2. State of Art	5
2.1. Literature review	5
2.2. Hygge	10
2.3. Hygge in Britain	13
3. Project design	14
3.1. Structure of the project	15
3.2. Methodology	17
3.2.1. Philosophy of science	18
3.2.2. Data collection	20
3.3. Analysis Strategy	22
3.4. Limitations and Delimitations	24
4. Conceptual and meta-theoretical framework	26
4.1. Meta-theory	26
4.2. Concepts	27
5. Analysis	36
5.1. First part	37
5.2. Second part	41
5.3. Third part	44
6. Discussion	46
7. Conclusion	47
8. Bibliography	49

1. Problem Area

At the time of the rise of popular culture, cultural values are constantly included in the marketing (Pröschel, 2012, p. 26). The will to buy of consumers which is driven by the consumption culture and the expansion of production and innovations in technologies, accelerated the economic cycle of reproduction and also gave birth to the concept of commodification. As this concept means that everything, ideas, values, objects are intended to be exchanged. Different countries have its own history, culture, values etc. Therefore national heritage of each country serves as a unique attribute of that nation and may be promoted for selling (Ibid., 23 p.). And if in this situation other countries incorporate those national attributes in commodification process, in their own countries we have a phenomenon called cultural appropriation. Cultural appropriation is “an appropriation based on cultural parameters, i.e. on values and meanings” (Much and Bauernschmidt, 2012, p. 242). Word ‘appropriation’ means taking or making use of without authority or right (Rogers, Richard A., 2007, p. 475). However, there is an option of having cultural exchange, when countries exchange cultural objects without occurrence of cultural appropriation and any conflicts between them.

One concept attracted researcher’s attention is hygge. Danes perceive it as their cultural value (Levisen, 2012, p. 81). For a long time ‘hygge’ has been understood as a part of Danes cultural identity, underlying values embedded into the danish society such as collective feeling, well-being, relaxation etc. (Ibid.). Throughout the latest years, the popularity of the concept has increased, which has generated bigger interest in it. Moreover, it has expanded the usage and application of the concept, not only in the sense of experience, but also as a label for quality in advertising goods. Thus experiences are being converted into marketing products to promote certain goods.

In such a way, the concept has been prompted to be commodified and consumed in Britain. During 2016 many books have been written and the country felt ‘the big bang’ of this concept. It became a hegemonic phenomenon and newspapers started writing about it to understand the trendiness, online shops selling house accessories etc. These processes

implicated to us that the phenomenon Cultural appropriation could be applied on hygge concept. However, the validity of cultural appropriation of hygge concept depends on Danes as the perceivers of this concept.

1.2. Research questions

This research document aims to investigate how commodification and consumerism have shaped this concept in Britain to potential conversion of culturally appropriated object. This leads to our research questions -

How is CA applied to the concept of Hygge in Britain?

Following it subquestions will be answered:

- 1. What are potential reasons of cultural appropriation to happen, in the case of hygge concept?*
- 2. To what degree does or does not CA of hygge happen in Britain?*
- 3. What are the reactions of interviewed Danes about CA on the image of hygge concept?*

2. State of Art

2.1. Literature review

The aim of this literature review is to give an information about theories of cultural appropriation - compare it and develop a meta-theory for this project and to collect secondary data of hygge in Denmark and Britain. The theories for comparison will be taken two - from communication studies and from marketing field (named 'first theory' and 'second theory' respectively). The decision of developing meta-theory for this project has been made after looking for cultural appropriation theories and recognised, that theories are underdeveloped.

This meta-theory is the attempt to categorize cultural appropriation in contemporary, hyper-globalized world between neighboring countries. The case of the project is different from cases given in the literature of cultural appropriation, as this project is looking at the appropriation of the abstract concept but not a commodity and countries are geographically close.

First of all we clarify that those theories have different purposes but altogether it provides a background for developing meta-theory for this project. The main attributes of this literature review are points of comparison which give for researchers support and justifications to develop a meta-theory, to legitimize the actions provided in the project. Points for comparison: definition, context, aims of appropriation, commodification, consequences and as a separate point - cultural exchange.

DEFINITION

The first theory defines cultural appropriation by taking into consideration Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (2004) which offers (...) "to take or make use of without authority or right" (p. 61) (Rogers, 2006, p. 475). Appropriation is derived from the Latin *appropriare*, meaning "to make one's own," (Ibid.). First theory speaks more about culture and the symbols which can be appropriated - "artifacts, genres, rituals, or technologies by members of another culture—regardless of intent, ethics, function, or outcome" (Ibid.). And the most important thing is that it sees cultural appropriation as an active process, as "taking" (Ibid.). Because of this reason the context of cultural appropriation is really important because it characterizes the process and may/may not intensify it. The aspects, such as symmetry or asymmetry of power relations, the nature of the cultural boundaries, the appropriation's role of dominance and/or resistance, the degree and scope of voluntariness, are part of the context and they are involved in shaping the cultural appropriation (Ibid.). Regarding the studies of this theory, this particular theory focuses on social and political relations, in that way appropriation is categorized through cultural politics - power relations among cultures and this remains to be the main core of the theory (Ibid.). Second theory describes cultural appropriation as a positive thing. Cultural appropriation "leading to new understandings and contextualization of particular objects or ideas" (Hahn, 2012, p. 18). It is

one of the concepts that brings force of diversity into homogenous societies and empowers processes of cultural change (Ibid., p. 27).

The main difference from the first theory and the theory this project is developing, that this project does not search for power relations but more specifically look at the context of globalisation, capitalism, cosmopolitanism and in general contemporary capitalism which exists and does impact on human lives nowadays which we believe could create power relations without historical background. Therefore, the explanation from second theory will be closer taken in consideration for this project because of being open for any circumstances creating the context for this phenomenon in the project.

CONTEXT

Communication studies theory describes historical context and era of postmodernity or globalization as important aspects of cultural appropriation because it supports the idea of illustrating four types of appropriation - exchange, dominance, exploitation, and transculturation (Rogers, 2006, p. 475). Different forms of this phenomenon in first theory contains a basis building an understanding of it. While marketing field theory does not generalize forms of it and do not pay attention to it. It is more concentrated on explanation of motives of occurrence of cultural appropriation. First theory in regards to the point of agency has this viewpoint “appropriation of elements of the dominant culture by subordinated groups can denaturalize the dominant culture’s representational systems and/or can provide the possibility of a form of agency.” (Ibid., p. 485). Agency constitutes and is constituted by the environment of culture, politics, economics. However, the role of agency is questionable, because the agency is recognised as a part of appropriation but not grounded in a priori subject of liberal individualism (Ibid., p. 486). Moreover, the agency could be absent if dominant ideology, for example, popular culture, is “operating effectively toward hegemonic ends” (Ibid., p. 484). While the second theory states that human agents are always responsible for active promotion of a specific contextualization of an object or a motive, or a technology (Hahn, 2012, p. 18). And the question is more related to the motives of human beings. The first theory states that the reasons for cultural appropriation to occur are described as intentions, motivations, interpretations and it could be done on behalf of individuals or collective agency (Rogers, 2006, p. 477). Nevertheless, the material from the first theory about the existence of hegemonic ideology is important for this project because of hidden

agency and potential driven forces for 'hygge' to be appropriated in Britain. The researchers will be looking for this potential ideology, context for appropriation without visible power dominance aspect.

AIMS OF APPROPRIATION

Moving on, the second theory is speaking about aims for appropriation to occur - exoticism, social advancement, identity formation, problem solving, economic profit, ideological concerns and fear of the unfamiliar (Huck and Bauernschmidt, 2012, p. 238). Desire of consumers for something unusual or exotic is related to the process of collective or individual identity formation as the core element is identification - "drawing of boundaries between self and 'other.'" (Ibid., p. 239). Consumer goods may be perceived as a material to show others who they are or more specifically, who they want to be in a way creating social status. The search for solutions to problems by comparing different cultures and discovering knowledge of 'others', building an 'identity'(Ibid.). Another motivation for appropriation is to gain 'economic profit' and is driven by the will to sell more goods. (Ibid., p. 240). Moreover, looking from the perspective of the country, ideological concerns are motivated by a desire to change morals, manners and values of a society (Ibid.). And the last one motivation is 'fear of the unfamiliar' formed to be opposite to the desire of something new and it occurs in specific circumstances - "unstable, dangerous, hybrid zone of indeterminacy in-between". The appropriation becomes a necessity to make those objects be familiar to the culture (Ibid., p. 240). Overall, second theory looked through the perspective of the dominant country and gave reasons for appropriation to happen. This type of approach will be used in developing meta-theory for this project because it is broadening researchers' understanding about cultural appropriation in this case. Moreover it will support hypothesis that appropriation occurs with a purpose to solve some type of social problems.

COMMODIFICATION

Commodification in the first theory is shown as a negative process which transforms objects, ideas etc. to be owned, bought and by this limiting its implications for sacrilege and appropriate compensation (Rogers, 2006., p. 488). Commodification acts as abstracting the value of an object so that it can enter the system of exchange (Ibid.). Consequently, the use-value and the specificity of the labour is lost and the commodity becomes equal to other

commodities. Afterwards in case of different appearance, additional meanings are attached to the commodity. At the end commodity is fetishised, created without intrinsic relation to the object's use-value, production and circulation (Ibid.). The result for society is that "by obscuring conditions and relations of production with reified meanings, consumers are not faced with an awareness of their participation in the exploitation of others' labor, culture, and identity" (Ibid.). The context of commodity is erased in time after commodification process and the degradation of subordinated culture occur. Moreover, the communication studies' theorists states, that incorporation process takes advantages of commodification in a way that oppositional meaning or function of objects is removed for the purpose of hegemonic strategy (Ibid.). Second theory do not mention word commodification but it takes the process by default in the mode of appropriation which is going to be used in the process of developing meta-theory as one of the concepts.

CONSEQUENCES

First theory speaks about cultural exploitation from the perspective of subordinated culture - in this type appropriation culture is treated as a source for consumption without financial compensation (Ibid., p. 486). This theory is also looking for damages, consequences on the subordinated culture, such as cultural degradation (Ibid.). The concern is that the identity of the culture is distorted and the subordinated cultures lose control of their cultural heritage and the preservation of it. Hence, spiritual traditions and rituals may happen to be disrespected by New Age producers and consumers with approach to "other" cultures fostered by possessive individualism and commodification (Ibid., p. 487). Furthermore, cultural heritage could be "wrongfully" exploited mainly for one purpose - for financial gain. Issues nationally and internationally with intellectual property when copyright laws favour the individual ownership over the traditional cultural forms placed in public domain (Ibid.). Second theory is not aiming to reveal consequences but it establish positive approach to the phenomenon of cultural appropriation and highlight its damageless. Quoting theorists of second theory speaking about cultural degradation - "Local cultures (...) have survived, and anthropology has had to learn that the idea of 'vanishing cultures' was an early stereotype within the discipline." (Ibid.). This project will take both theories into consideration and will look for consensus and applicability for this case. Will be searching for reaction of Danes into this phenomenon of hygge in Britain.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE

The idea of cultural exchange is going to be used in developing meta-theory, it is explained as an “implied baseline for clarifying the inequalities involved in the other conditions of appropriation and is generally assumed to be a nonexistent ideal.” (Rogers, 2006, p. 477.). This cultural exchange will be used as the first part of the developed meta-theory assuming that exchange led to the appropriation nonetheless and creating a hypothesis that appropriation started without dominance factor, but on the conditions of cultural exchange. First of all, cultural exchange is a borrowing of linguistic words and phrases, religious beliefs, technological innovations between countries or regions and it is positioned as an ideal type of exchange in ethical standards (Ibid., p. 478). It has been described by theorists that this type of appropriation may exist without power relations however equality may not exist on all levels (Ibid., p. 479). Consequently, act of dominance remains to be the main aspect for appropriation and in this project, massive commodification will be a factor for cultural appropriation in Britain to occur.

CONCLUSION

In general, first theory speaks much more about consequences to the subordinated culture of cultural appropriation and the role of power relations in it, questioning the existence of it and trying to generalize forms of cultural appropriation and the context of it, such as process of commodification. The second theory is describing in detail the process of appropriation and it is written as a manual to understand each step and apply in any subject, idea for appropriation, and provides a list of aims of appropriation. The project will take material from both theories to create a meta-theory of critical realism of cultural appropriation of concept *hygge* in Britain.

2.2. Hygge

Anthropologists have connected the concept closely with the northern climate. “It’s a term that has grown out of our cold and darkness, when we come together around a source of heat.” (Berdichevsky, 2011, p. 86).

Hygge is defined as a noun and verb as well as an adjective. It is hardly translatable word in other languages and the amount of different interpretations displays the number of meanings it consists and brings. It is described as the feeling of well-being and comfort itself when a person is in close people's companion or by themselves, but there are a number of ingredients` to be added in order for hygge to be created nowadays, such as candles, blankets, woolen socks, hot chocolate etc., in other words, all kinds of subjects that bring coziness around (Ibid, p. 87-88). The concept refers to safe habitat and spontaneous situations which lead to feelings of joy or relaxation; it is contentment, but does not necessarily mean happiness (Ibid, p. 90). Hygge is recognizable to any Dane and it is common for natives to be introduced to it since childhood by the parents. It is often used in ritualistic ways and it serves to represent a set of implicit values that the Danish society shares (Linnet, 2011, p. 23).

Over the years during the formation of the Danish culture, Hygge has grown into a social value and an essential concept for natives, which led Denmark to apply for including Hygge concept in the UNESCO's Convention (2017) for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Leadbeater, 2018, p. 10). In the application, Denmark presents how much the concept is valued and officially states: "The importance of intangible cultural heritage is that you have to live it. While it's something we inherit from our past, hygge is absolutely relevant today and will have real value long into our future" (Morris, 2018). The listing's purpose is to increase the consciousness and manifest the variety of the national cultural heritage.

Meanwhile, the website VisitDenmark has initiated a campaign calling for tourists to acknowledge hygge as part of the attractions and experience it themselves, by emphasizing that the core aspect of hygge cannot be bought since it is a feeling (Morris, 2018).

Moreover, The Danish Ministry of Education and Ministry of Culture launched `Danmarkskanon` (CANON) which established ten values that represent the Danish culture in pursuance of increasing the awareness of the importance of those values and the necessity to be kept as such for future generations. The project was designed to illustrate the diversity of traditions, ideas and beliefs that shape the Danish society (Danmarkskanon, 2016).

In the article “Money Can't Buy Me Hygge” by the anthropologist Jeppe Trollet Linnet is presented that nowadays the hygge concept has become so widespread and habitual that is even used in ritualistic ways by the majority. The anthropologist's research tells us that considering the Danish cultural assumptions hygge is originally not supposed to be something expensive: „...it is antithetical to luxury and the seeking of prestige...” (Linnet, 2011, p. 26). The research document's aim is to introduce the concept from a different types of usage perspective and therefore to criticize the consumption of hygge and the way people perceive it as something they could buy instead of create.

Moreover the 'ingredients' that are supposed to boost the creation of hygge and comfort around the physical environment are proposed in a big part of the society to be the actual actors who are responsible for the occurrence of hygge. It is therefore suggested that the desire behind buying items and materialistic goods in favor to experience hygge is not only opposite to the construction of it, considering that hygge is a feeling, but is a condition, which is by itself changing the meaning of the concept. „From a consumption perspective, the idea seems to be that hygge can be attained or secured by not purchasing certain things...” (Linnet, 2011, p. 26).

There are examples dating back to the nineteenth century where the focus is on hygge as something sincere that provides pleasure, rather than having a representative, status enhancing function (Ibid., p. 27). There may be no showing off in relation to hygge, which also places certain requirements on the role of the host. The appearance of people and the physical space, along with elements such as food and drink, should not be elaborated or appear overly planned. The host should demonstrate an attitude of "relaxed thoughtfulness" (Ibid., p. 164) and should not be too eager to control the course of the interaction (Ibid., p. 27).

Furthermore, the Danish author Meik Wiking, CEO of the Happiness Research Institute wrote “The Little Book of Hygge” as about how to create hygge atmosphere by presenting its intangible character as well as identifying which physical objects could serve as prerequisite for creating the feeling. The final essay of the book illustrates the connections between hygge and happiness and exposes internationally the “Danish Secrets to Happy Living” (Mickunas, 2017). Wiking considers hygge as universal and for everybody, no matter their origin or

nationality. He expresses his beliefs that by describing hygge, he and his team of researchers „... gave people a word to describe something they were already experiencing...” (News Letter, Belfast, 2019). Although Wiking is willing to share and spread the concept of hygge, he further confirms himself that: “Hygge is increasingly at risk of being hijacked by commercial interests – and this worries me as hygge, in its original shape, is free” (Byager, 2018).

However, the concept continued being advertised as a commodity and became hegemonic which flourished feelings of locals. In 2018 Danish journalist in UK wrote an article in English criticizing the commodification and misinterpretation of concept hygge. The idea of the author is to alarm about consequences of hegemonism of this concept to the Danish society. The point is that this trendiness of this hygge concept, consumerism abroad and inside the country may lead to the changes of the image of Scandinavians. The article is published in a popular media and has an emotional critique from the author who represents Danes. Regarding those circumstances the negativism could not be generalised to all Danes, however this article leads to suspicions about extremes of advertising concept hygge. Moreover, the meaning of ‘hygge’ is drifting away from what was originally supposed to be and thus, alienation from the concept could occur for the consumers (Byager, 2018).

2.3. Hygge in Britain

Hygge concept has been introduced for Brits after having cultural exchange named Nordic Noir, which is a different name for Scandinavian Crime fiction. It contains Danish TV crime series *Forbrydelsen* (The Killing, DR1, 2007-2012) (Stougaard-Nielsen, 2016, p. 1). The case of Nordic Noir is being described as a mobility of cultures between Britain and Nordic countries (Ibid., p. 3) because those TV series happened to be very popular in Britain and attracted many attentions to Scandinavia. However, not just those features fated the popularity of it in Britain – feelings within a country in “a new era of decomposition, uncertainty and crisis” provided a desire for new heroes and heroines (Ibid., p. 7). It is supposedly that the trendiness of ‘Nordientalism’ is an expression “of a search for a lost sense of identity, a nostalgic longing for an imagined past society more in tune with pre-Thatcherite welfarist values, by way of consuming, appropriating and exoticising

proximate cultural identities” (Ibid., p. 6). Therefore, the popularity could be seen as presupposed and reasonable because Nordic countries stand for such values – “Nordic wellness, institutionalised egalitarianism, a dedication to sustainability, a strong sense of community and quality of life” (Ibid., p. 6). It has been shown as an idyllic, desirable picture of Nordic countries. Scandinavians specifically has been presented as surrounded themselves with designer’s furniture, spending dark winter night with candlelight and “hygge” (Ibid., p. 6). TV series were shown in Danish language therefore in this way, the distance between actors and viewers created a feeling for Brits of being a foreigner, seeing something different and unusual. However, different and unusual in a sense of familiarization, sentiments and desires, as the Danish culture is not drastically different from British. There has been done some anthropological research for reasons of the popularity of Scandinavian culture – Britain “recalling historical imperialism and exhibiting banal nationalism” are in the complex political crisis of identity in newly created multicultural society and they are searching for whiteness (Ibid., p. 8). The consumers of this fiction happen to be mostly white, wealthy, middle-class Guardian readers and BBC Four viewers, therefore the ideas propagated in those TV series have been an appropriate form of whiteness, as “the Nordic model of whiteness is articulated to ideas about ecologically sustainable production, and to notions of consuming in a modest and appropriate manner” (Ibid., p. 8). Overall, the ideas presented in the Danish crime fiction are popular in this modern world nowadays and the identity of Denmark could be desirable. As follows, Brits have been familiar with ‘Danishness’, therefore “hygge” concept was not a surprise for them and we believe that the reasons for those TV series to be popular could be applicable for hygge too. In 2016 April - autumn many books have been written, it started from “The Year of Living Danishly: Uncovering the Secrets of the World’s Happiest Country” by Helen Russell and continued with “The Little Book of Hygge: Danish Secrets to Happy Living” by Meik Wiking, and many more. The country felt ‘the big bang’ of this concept. It became a hegemonic phenomenon and newspapers, such as “The Guardians” (1), “New York Times” (2), “Country living” (3) started writing about it to understand the trendiness, online shops selling house accessories or clothes began to write a prescription next to their goods about hygge. One of them is selling Scandinavian production - (hyggestyle). The company is run by the owner from Denmark and the idea is to bring accessories from Denmark and bring real ‘hygge’. In another store, the long description of hygge is added, relating it to luxury items (Nest.co.uk, undated). And the last store attracted

the attention of researchers of this project was the online store of sport outfit, named 'hyggebands'. The owner does not mention the origins of hygge, only includes pronunciation of this word and relations to word hug, mentions the popularity of word in Britain and adds that it is a positive thing, happiness (Hyggebands). The society of Britain have been introduced broadly with this new concept and its applicability to be a sign for quality on expensive items. To sum up, hygge concept became a popular and easily acceptable.

3. Project design

The following chapter aims to introduce the reader to the framework of the research and the different aspects from our project design will be explored in order to explain our choices for data collection and the various methods we have used. The project design serves as a guideline throughout the research process that has been conducted and provides a structure for defending our argumentation as well as answering our research question. It also serves as a ground for fundamental discussions concerning the project.

We intend to be critical in giving our work a direction and we recognize that this study does not contain the whole truth, but aims to investigate. This also underpins the differences between a qualitative and quantitative research process as pointed out in *Verstehen* (Max Weber), and gives an argumentation in support of our decision to implement a qualitative investigation. We will employ qualitative semi-structured interviews conditioned by critical realism to further compliment our argumentation in the analysis chapter.

The theoretical framework we have chosen for the given subject of interest is critical realism itself. We have used this approach to create a meta-theory as parts of our real world fitted within a structure of 'real', 'actual' and 'empirical' so we can therefore test if there is cultural appropriation of the hygge concept in Britain under different circumstances, within the role of the 'actual'. Moreover, if there was or was not, we wanted to find out how this appropriation have or have not occurred and the possible reasons behind it. Among our aims is to examine the possible reaction of the hypothetical appropriation of the interviewees and the context of it.

3.1. Structure of the project

The function of this subchapter is to provide an explanation throughout the structure of the project in the most coherent possible way to be easily understandable to the reader.

We have first started out with an introduction to the topic of interest we have chosen that leads to defining our problem area and working questions. Then we unveil our chosen collection of secondary data in the Literature review, which purpose is to provide a foundation of knowledge for our subjects and concepts and since later on in the analysis we will test whether or not cultural appropriation exists, we need to make the reader familiar with the terms that construct the base for CA to occur.

Consistently, the Project design chapter follows, presenting the processes we have done in a structure that is providing a framework in subchapters according to which we have decided to carry out the research in order to maintain coherency.

Following, we have placed the methodological section by separating it into two parts: philosophy of science and data collection. It is then exposed, the philosophy of the various methods we have employed, where critical realism approach is presented along with data collection processes and motives for those specific ways.

Besides, we also included a description of how we are planning to meet our data and the meta-theory we have constructed, resulting in the analysis strategy we will use. It is beneficial to explain the plan we follow in order for the reader to gain a better understanding of the analysis processes.

At the end of this section is placed a discussion about the limitations which we have faced and the downsides along the weaknesses of our choices.

Afterwards, we introduce the reader to our conceptual framework, consisting of detailed explanation of the concepts we have borrowed to implement throughout the project followed by the meta-theoretical framework we have constructed with those concepts. Those two frameworks will give insight to the reader of the terms and concepts we have employed and furthermore it illustrates the procedures we did to construct our main meta-theory in work.

After we decided that we will examine hygge and its social effects, we did a research on it and we came up with a hypothesis that cultural appropriation of hygge exists. We chose Britain as a study case due to the amount of literature we found about hygge being popularized and mis-used among Brits. We also found out that the CA concept itself has been inappropriately handled on many issues and we did not find literature giving example of CA of non-material concept such as hygge. Even though, power relations, are a huge aspect of the cultural appropriation, this aspect in itself is not relevant to our project and we support our hypotheses, that CA of hygge is possible in Britain, with literature review and comparison of two different theories.

However, in order to find out the most likely truthfulness and validate our claims, we have to be critical towards our own results and test whether or not the results take us to conclude the same as our initial hypothesis. To draw a picture for that, we need to take into consideration factors such as the global society and how it functions nowadays as well as different aspects that affect the worldview and the world itself. We are limited to how much of the reality we could describe, due to lack of time, resources and it is non-relevant to the aims of the research. Moreover, we need to focus on other types of aspects that create the conditions for hygge being spread abroad and the motives and ways for that to happen. In pursuance of the most likely truth, we further need material to test the so far built reality on hypothesis and secondary literature. Besides, we need to be critical to our own initial hypothesis and question our findings. Therefore, for the sake of consistency of the research and due to a lack of compatible theory we could follow, we chose to employ critical realism also as a framework for our meta-theory and analysis. We chose to construct our meta-theory on CR, considering that it provides us with ground for working with three dimensions by separating the unavoidable invisible conditions that are set over the time portraying the reality from the actual compounds creating the empirical consequences. Another reason to look through the lens of CR as a meta-theory is that it allows us to approach the hypothetical phenomena from a critical perspective and check it on several levels. We did so by employing different concepts, which represent the patterns we found throughout the data collection process, inspired by the initial hypothesis. Those concepts are introduced in the conceptual framework, that we composed, preparing them to meet the data.

Subsequently, there is analysis chapter that overall represents the interconnections embedded into the processes of encountering the concepts through the lens the data has settled. The aim of the analysis is to find out if the results are taking us back to the concepts and whether cultural appropriation on hygge exists in Britain and it relies its validity on the information we have gathered from our interviewees.

Furthermore, the Discussion section is dedicated to the modification of the meta-theory and to discuss various outcomes and possible solutions or answers to our research and supportive questions.

3.2. Methodology

Methodology is an important part of this chapter and it is concerned with the management of our data and the methods we have chosen to apply followed by explanation of our decisions about implementing epistemological and ontological approaches. In order to explain some of the choices we have done along our research, it is important to note that the goal of this project is to help understand a part of the big matter and throw light over the phenomena of cultural appropriation of Hygge in Britain. We also recognize that deeper and broader research is needed in this specific field for better comprehension.

3.2.1. Philosophy of science

When it comes to our standpoint in philosophy of social science, we have chosen to use Critical Realism approach. It is important to define the philosophical perspective, through which lens we will be looking at the world since there are different ways to perceive the real and the truth. We have already established the questions, but for better understanding of the reader, it is also essential to underpin the way we intend to find answers and which methods we will be using to create the worldview. We find critical realism approach as most fitting to the way we wish to investigate the phenomena in interest considering that the particular CA of hygge in Britain that is being studied is a hypothesis we have formed and we acknowledge that the world exists independent of our assumptions. Critical realism supports the idea that

every subject could be studied by dividing it into surface and depth and that the world is made of several levels. (Egholm, 2014, p.123) Having such an approach throughout this research is beneficial for exploring the underlying structures and mechanisms which define the expressions of various social phenomena. Our purpose of employing CR is to find out fundamental systems in people and their actions towards the usage of hygiene in Britain and its hypothetical effects and ethical considerations.

Critical realism allows us to explore the reality by uncovering the three realms: real, actual and empirical. The ``real`` dimension is representing the power relations and the structures that are building the world around us with invisible treats. It recognizes the existence of mechanisms that are prerequisite for conditions and events, which are embedded in the ``actual`` realm of the critical realism approach. The ``actual`` part consists of the effects that are created by the power relations and structures planted in the ``real``. The consequences are illustrated in the third, ``empirical`` part, which shows the actual observable consequences, set as results from operations taking place in the `real` and the `actual` realms (Sayer, 1999 p. 12).

Subsequently, CR assumes that the examined interconnections are existing in the reality even though we cannot directly observe them. Often, they are in hidden forms and empirically hard to know, yet are mostly man-made and occur as a consequence from the society itself. Through establishing patterns we attempt to prove that those structures occur independently from our opinion. Moreover, we strive to investigate the aspects of a group as a whole rather than take it on an individual level, which reflects also the critical realism strategy (Egholm, 2014, p. 116).

Ontological approach

The social ontology gives insight into the question of reality and moreover it seeks to understand the society and the nature of social systems and interconnections. We have employed a realistic ontological basis for our research which assumes that the examined interrelations and structures indeed exist in reality even though sometimes it is not possible to be observed directly. The function of the realistic ontological approach is „...to uncover the invisible – and often unconscious – structures and mechanisms that exist in the world.“

(Egholm, L. 2014, p.116) And this reflects our aim to explore the particular structures creating cultural appropriation and test whether or not Hygge fits into one of them. Moreover, we acknowledge that our project reflects one reality and is not universal, which is further supported by Bryman 2016, supporting the idea that social phenomena are not only a result of social interaction, but are constantly changing and modifying. Giving a starting point to the research, we had to establish through which philosophical lens we will approach it and hence, we chose critical realism as our epistemological base. The ontological approach is not optional and the base for critical realism is realism so this is what manner the project strives to represent. Furthermore, critical realism is proposing stratifying ontology as a conflation of the actual and the empirical (Ibid., p. 12).

Reproductive approach

Reproductive strategy in social sciences`research relies on hypothesis to reveal real structures and systems, which generate empirical phenomena (Malhotra, 2017, p. 173). Uncovering underlying structures is among the main aims in our research, so therefore reproductive design is suitable to our approach. It is also referred to as ``hypothesis formulation`` and has a standpoint that an assumption needs to be tested employing both strategies-deduction and induction (Ibid., p. 174).

3.2.2. Data collection

Secondary data

To begin with, we conducted a research on hygge and found out how vastly spread it is. Moreover, hygge seemed to be increasingly often mis-used and thus, we came up with a hypothesis that hygge is culturally appropriated in Great Britain. In order to be able to test our hypothesis later on, we needed to gather additional data to support our statements and to provide a basis to structure our literature review.

We start our literature review by introducing the concept of cultural appropriation since in order to test it, we as researchers need to be completely aware of the term`s meaning under different conditions and scholars. Moreover, we rely on various documents and articles and

books to further give structure to the patterns we noticed and therefore we came up with our selection of concept to structure our perception of the world according to our philosophy of science. Additionally, in the literature review we define hygge, presented with its definition, origins, and identifying its directions of modern development. We faced a lack of literature in English researching the spread of hygge in such a hypothetical way and there was no evidence about the actual effects of this on to the Danes in English. We employ those concepts further to build the analysis, by creating a coding system for secondary literature, even though the testing of meta-theory itself is mostly dependable on our primary data, since that is our primary source of empirical material. The coding system is compliant with our research aims and correspondent to the subjects under investigation. The content of the collected documents is useful to us since we would neither reject nor support our hypothesis that CA of Hygge exists in Britain, but will further explore and explain the processes within and the potential effects of those processes. We conducted our research through chosen legitimate platforms such as REX, ProQuest and RUC library and we used keywords for searching.

Primary data

As for our primary data, we designed and conducted theory-driven interviews coherent to our chosen approach in order to get the best possible understanding of the phenomena we are researching. We chose to employ theory-driven interviews, because of their function to focus the subject of the interviews on the actual research problem instead of seeking for the participant's 'thoughts and deeds'. Furthermore, theory-driven interviews compliment the critical realism approach and aim at understanding deeper independent social mechanisms (Smith, 2012, p. 12).

Our primary data is the empirical base we use to strengthen or reject our initial argument due to the fact that not much research has been done in this particular field of CA. Therefore we lack specific secondary literature to support our further analysis with. As for the data collection, theory-driven interviews deploy the "scope for elaboration [as] in semi-structured interviewing..." (Ibid., p.14), we constructed an interview guide following the chosen

approach and we conducted interviews with Danes aiming to provide base for meeting the theory in the analysis chapter.

We chose theory-driven interviews due to the fact that this method of data collection includes theoretical presuppositions, similar to semi-structured interviews. Such a function is for example the capability of the interview of "...making the interviewees' implicit knowledge more explicit." (Flick, 2018, p. 228) and this reflects the approach we have chosen to use so therefore, we created an interview guide which helped us keep a structure throughout the interviews but still gives freedom to the participant to express their knowledge and opinions about the subject of matter.

The participants in the interviews were randomly chosen, we did not have a sampling. We established only one aspect to be important to classify our interviewees-original nationality. To answer the questions using semi-structured interviews, it is important that we choose only Danes since it will not be relevant to be looking for answers from someone not familiar with the concept of Hygge. Given the time framework we had to conduct the interviews, we succeeded to arrange live interviews with three participants, chosen by the principle of "first come, first served" from the researchers' social circles without any other criteria than being Danes. The interviews were done individually by one researcher, since we wanted to avoid creating a feeling of being outnumbered in the participants.

Following, we prepared a consent form (Appendix 2), providing information about the study and its purpose as well as our contact information even though we did not promote anonymity in advance due to the fact that the topic of interest is not sensitive and therefore the participants were more willing to open up and give away their identity. Considering this, we determined a policy to ask the interviewees if anonymity was necessary after the interview in case they did not ask themselves beforehand. Out of the three conducted interviews, only one participant wished for signing a consent form. The interview questions were grounded in an interview guide, which was constructed to encourage the participants to share their personal opinion but also to provide information and guide them to understanding of the specific questions we are looking to answer. The guide's purpose was to lead the narrative and to prevent the conversation from moving in non-relevant direction. Reflecting

to our approach, we included 'explanatory passages' in between some of the questions to raise awareness in the participants of the research theory and context. The theory-driven method in interviewing "...also involves addressing informants' puzzlements about how specific questions relate to an overall research agenda" (Smith, 2012, p. 13).

3.3. Analysis Strategy

It is essential for us to produce comprehensive material for the reader in how to read our analysis in order to assure receiving insight from the same perspective as ours. The epistemology we have employed assumes there is only one reality, but could be interpreted in a number of ways, depending on the individual. Therefore we need to let the reader know that we chose exactly this lens to look through when analysing the gathered data and that if it was another approach to be adopted, the course of the research would have been different since another 'truth' was going to be constructing the reality.

Firstly, we adopted coding systems for each of our data - primary and secondary. We decided to apply two different coding frameworks, since according to our perspective, the findings from secondary literature are supposed to assist us build our hypothesis about what is beyond the borders of the 'real' part and thus define the 'actual' realm of our meta-theory. On the other hand, the primary data from our interviews gives us empirical material to investigate, which provides some answers and actual effects/results. Accordingly, the codes we created for analysing the primary data are following patterns and those patterns are implementing the 'empirical' dimension representing factualities, again having in mind the conditions the first two parts of the meta-theory have constructed.

Besides, we found distinction in between carrying on different functions and ways to access information about concepts. Thus, we approach the research on part of the concepts according to the secondary literature and we use another set of concepts acquiring information from the interviews, even though throughout the coding system, both types of data have codes in common unavoidable.

Respectively, in order to analyse the data in relation to our conceptual framework and also put into test whether or not the 'real' is what we assume it is, we divided the analysis into three parts. Each one of them is representing different piece in the research puzzle.

At first, we explored the gathered literature about hygge and considering the vast amount of information, we build our hypothesis, which we further support by employing part of the selected concepts for the research framework. We have already recognized that this is the way through which aspects illustrate the 'actual' dimension of our philosophy of science and theoretical perspective.

Subsequently, in the second part we are interpreting the empirical material that we collected during the interview, which resulted in establishing a coding system for converting the data into easily accessible material ready to be analyzed. We found patterns in the participants' answers and taking in consideration the sub-topics we wanted to discuss for further understanding, we created four codes to sum up our reasoning and create a narrative for the second part of the analysis. The first code is representing hygge as a value and its definition, then we have addressed the cultural exchange/the aim of appropriation. Afterwards is the commodification issue and the last code consists of the effects and consequences of the hypothetical cultural appropriation of hygge in Britain. The interpretations are made respectively to the conceptual foundation and it is taken in consideration the secondary literature and the initial hypothesis. The findings from analysing the primary data are expected to further support either reject various assumptions made. Either way, by employing this information, we create the 'empirical' realm of our meta-theory since we are producing factual knowledge.

However, we include also a third part to the analysis which function will be to meet directly both kinds of data and our initial hypothesis and then compare if those conditions are supporting each other or rather are contradicting. In other words, we are testing if cultural appropriation happened, but taking in consideration the third realm of CR, we are doing interpretations under given circumstances, which are created by an invisible reality. It is challenging since the reality is subjective and could be interpreted in many ways and because of that it is not really possible to define the 'real' or point it out. Therefore we could only outline the reality by examining the 'actual' and 'empirical' and assuming what the reality is. We have established our hypothesis after vast research on literature about hygge and therefore we have displayed some of the sources supportive to our assumptions. During the secondary data collection, patterns were found and we employed concepts to draw a picture of the conditions created by our hypothetical reality. Those conditions were also supposed to represent the 'actual' aspect of the research meta-theory. Accustomed to the conceptual

framework, once again we distinguished given patterns in our primary data and by comparing both types of data, we test whether or not the 'empirical' reflects the 'actual'. Basically we are employing the empirical and the actual to test if it fits with our suggestions. In case both sources of data agree with the hypothesis, that would prove that first, our assumptions are correct and second that those actually are the borders of the 'real' and hence, we maintain to stay in the outline of the potential reality. In the other case, if there occurs inconsistency throughout the data, then there are other conditions and interpretations that are constructing the reality, which we have not focused at. Consequently, if that happened to be the case, we have to reject our initial hypothesis since the phenomena we are researching could not be proved to be such and that could be due to factors like different analytical and theoretical lenses.

3.4. Limitations and Delimitations

The following subchapter discusses the limitations and delimitations that we arose during the research process as well as the weaknesses of the project. As a matter of quality of the research, we need to identify the flaws so the results are more truthful and present them to the reader to ensure external validity.

Among the biggest weaknesses in this project, is the subject of research itself. We have chosen to investigate the potential cultural appropriation of the concept of hygge and we have also decided that we will focus on Britain as our study case due to Hygge's popularity there in the last few years. Those modifications create highly specific condition of cultural appropriation and therefore problems occur such as lack of specific secondary data to support straight forward answers.

Moreover, Hygge concept is Danish and many researchers may have been analysing it in Danish language, therefore language barrier abandons the researchers to get a broader perspective. Besides, we, the researchers are outsiders of Danish culture, not familiar with traditions and rituals of Danes. The situation of growing up as Dane and the relation with hygge from young age is essential for understanding hygge and family is the first which introduces to this concept, which we as non-Danish are in lack of.

Furthermore, the cultural appropriation itself is hard to define, in modern aspect outside of colonialism, especially since it has been widely spread and used a number of times about inappropriate matters. Moreover, the complexity of hygge is creating confusion and therefore it is important to note which characteristics are relevant to the outlines of the project. We do not take into account that hygge is concerned also by a linguistic issue since that is another field of research. Even though it is mentioned the importance of language and origins of hygge, we believe analysing further linguistic issues is neither relevant nor essential to our subject.

Another matter that delimitates our scope of research is the sampling criteria. We decided to interview only Danes, since we found it most relevant for this research as the concept is part of the Danish culture. We acknowledge the fact that this decision of ours eliminates our possibility to look at the phenomenon from other perspectives which narrows down the scope of the potential results. In addition, we strive to avoid generalization, but we still determine our results based on three interviewees and therefore, we lack further empirical data to support and test our claims.

Moreover, we struggled to discover a relevant theory, so we decided to not operate with one, but construct our analysis on meta-theory critical realism. We chose to do so, due to the many benefits and the suitability of the approach to the research topic. Regardless, we additionally recognize that there are delimitations to constructing a meta-theory instead of adopting a grounded one. Besides, critical realism has limitations itself such as- the 'real' dimension could not be determined, but still needs to be outlined by illustrating the many different aspects forming the reality as it is, considering it is also highly individualistic. The 'actual' realm could likewise be shaped by many different factors, depending on what creates the reality. This makes the research in depth hard and requiring much time and resources.

Additionally, we admit there are many concepts included and it may confuse and distract the reader, but we deem it necessary to present those concepts, since they are essential factors in the research puzzle and are able to shed light on the phenomena from broader perspective and be applicable for other concepts from other countries.

4. Conceptual and meta-theoretical framework

4.1. Meta-theory

“Metatheory” is “what lies beyond or outside any substantive theory, empirical research, or human practice” (Fleetwood & Ackroyd, 2004a) (Sousa, 2010, p. 455). It creates the empirical research which undertakes or affects the way for substantive theory (Ibid.). Distinct meta-theory could be called also “philosophy of science”. Social scholars usually adapt one of three meta-theories - “positivism”, “postmodernism” or “critical realism”. Researchers say about critical realism, that “the social world is an open system whose existence is largely independent of any knowledge one may have or develop and social science should be critical concerning the social world that aims to tentatively describe and explain” (Ibid., p. 456).

The power of meta-theory is that it can “develop and improve human understanding of the world, thus reducing ignorance and liberating humankind from the restricting influence of dogmas and falsehoods on human behavior (Sayer, 2000)” (Ibid., p. 460). Dogmas and falsehoods are limiting development and articulation of human consciousness (Ibid.). Four main parts of any meta-theory are - ontology, epistemology, methodology and etiology. Ontology is related to the nature or substance of the world, epistemology on development of knowledge of the world, methodology on methods and scientific research and etiology concerns reasons underlying the world (Ibid.). Overall, critical realism is concerned about ‘what the world is’ and ‘what it might be’, thus social science prescribed to be positive and normative at the same time (Ibid., p. 471).

4.2. Concepts

This project is using meta-theory of critical realism. It gives researchers broader perspectives of implementation and understanding the phenomenon. Cultural appropriation in this

meta-theory is deconstructed in concepts which together combines the viewpoint of researchers' to this process and provides reasoning of it.

Globalization and Capitalism

Globalization as a process of economic integration is giving a ground for local processes of globalization, it is understood as a historical project, problematized as a set of institutional and ideological relations constructed by powerful social forces (McMichael, 1996, p. 275). Globalization provides common dynamics for diverse populations and regions, in a way that it is a qualitative shift in the mode of social organization that marks a “historic transition in the capitalist world order” (Ibid., p. 276).

Global integration trend

The World Bank in 1980 ‘World Development Report’ defined differently development as the participation in the global market (Ibid., p. 278). This diminished the scope from national economies to the development of the global economy. The players in the market became “global” and states have been influenced to change their economic policies.

The role of the state has been reformulated by the multilateral institutions, such as IMF, World Bank and the World Trade Organization, and state managers (Ibid., p. 281). The national priorities, such as welfare enhancement, sustaining political constituencies, has been downgraded for persuasion of credit-worthiness and competitiveness in the global economy (Ibid.). State agencies responsible for support and regulation economic and social sectors have lost resources while sectors connected with global enterprise flourished (Ibid.). The condition which potentially undermined the coherence and sovereignty of national economies – competition in the global economy became essential due to guarantee repayment of debt (f.ex. for World Bank). Consequently, national economies became more embedded in global enterprise (Ibid., p. 282). Free trade agreements (f.ex. NAFTA, APEC, the European Union) reflecting to the term – internationalization of political authority (Ibid., p. 284). Those agreements contain centralization of power in multilateral institution to establish global rules and the internalization of those rules in national policy-making (Ibid.). In general, states lost control of making sovereign rule and globalization’s form stabilized capitalism (Ibid.).

Globalization supports chains of commodity production and exchange operations across national and regional boundaries, generating time-compressed spatial relations (Ibid., p. 285). It contributes to the “global production and circulation of value under increasingly casual, insecure, globally competitive conditions” (Ibid., p. 286). Consequently, global order suppresses the national orders within countries and provides limitations/structure to follow. The aspect of culture - national values, traditions etc. is being seen/provided differently in a global perspective regarding global exchange and countries possibly lose control of their cultural heritage after exchange.

Capitalism

For the last 300 years the drive for capital accumulation has been a fundamental force at work in reshaping the world's politics, economy and environment. There are certain rules influencing the process of capital accumulation (Harvey, 1992, p. 292) –

- Capitalism is about growth
- It is about technological and lifestyle changes
- It is always conflictual in forms of struggle (Ibid., p. 293)

Capitalist crisis

In 1973-5 the world suffered from capitalist crisis (specifically because of 1973-4 changes in oil prices) and it set in motion a frantic search for new products, new technologies, new lifestyles and new cultural schemes that could make a profit (Ibid., p. 294). It made an impact for the rise of laissez-faire and very conservative politics, strong appeal to individualism, materialism and entrepreneurial spirit (Ibid.). Overall, it has been a shift from old-style capital accumulation to a new style flexible accumulation (Ibid.).

Niche markets

Fragmentation and ephemerality opened “abundant opportunities to explore quick-changing niche markets for new products” (Ibid.). Indeed, postmodern implicated development of new fields and forms of profit-making (Ibid.).

According to Marx, production of any sort requires the human imagination – the end of production is contained of human desires, purposes and intentions (Ibid.). However, the problem of industrial capitalism is that only a minority of workers are able to get access to that type of process, the mass of the population is forced to feel alienating situation (Ibid.). The rich and privileged people countered alienation by developing a distinctive field of cultivation of aesthetic pleasures and values – protected zone from materialism of industrial capitalism (Ibid.). Over time, pleasures have gradually become used in the process of capital accumulation and new spheres of profit-making (Ibid., p. 296). After capitalism crisis the industrial capitalism decreased its profitability, therefore these new spheres became more important (Ibid.). In general, “culture” has become a primary field of entrepreneurial and capitalistic activity, as an arena (diverse preferences and the promotion of new heterogeneous life-styles) of fierce competition for profit-making (Ibid.).

“The promotion of cultural activities as a primary field of capital accumulation promotes a commodified and prepacked form of aesthetics at the expense of concerns for ethics, social justice, fairness, and the local and international issues of exploitation of both nature and human nature” (Ibid., p. 297).

The objectives of capitalism in this project are - class differences and rich people’s desire and development of distinctive field of aesthetic pleasures and values. Simultaneously those pleasures and values are labeled with price tag and culture has become a field for profit making and satisfaction for rich people.

Cosmopolitanism

The influence of a cosmopolitan reality atop the development of modern arts has begun since the end of the 18th century (Maftei, 2014, p. 515). International trade, international travel made an impact to access different cultures, styles and ways of life (Ibid.).

The sympathetic story of how cosmopolitan term has been mentioned has its origins in Ancient Greece - philosopher Cynic Diogenes asked where he is from, replied - “I am a citizen of the world [kosmopolitês]” (Kleingeld and Brown, 2002).

Cosmopolitanization -” the inclusion of the “otherness of the other (...) in one’s own self-identity and self-definition” (Maftei, 2014, p. 516).

Erasmus of Rotterdam advocated the ideal of the world-wide peace (Kleingeld and Brown, 2002). He emphasized the unity of humankind over its separation into different states and peoples, arguing that humans are designated by Nature to be sociable and live in harmony (Ibid.). Those ideas supplemented transition of cosmopolitanism to philosophy field and the origin of modern natural law theory (Ibid.). First law, nature implanted in humans encourages the tendency to self-preservation, and a “form of sociability that unites all humans at a fundamental level into a kind of world community” (Ibid.). Second law has been implemented in foundation of constructing an international law beyond the very idea to create a great society among states (Ibid.).

The cosmopolitan approach is an imagination of alternative ways of life and rationalities, which include otherness of others (Maftei, 2014, p. 514). Its power is to bring negotiation of conflicting cultural experiences into the center of activities – political, economic, scientific and social (Ibid.).

“Cosmopolitanism” is seen as a way of thinking rather than a definable concept (Ibid., p. 515). The basic distinctions, for instance, “identity and difference, global and local, particular and universal” are been removed (Ibid.). Consequently, what has been proclaimed as national will eventually be transnational or cosmopolitan (Ibid.). Altogether, the “cosmopolitan” way of thinking reshapes an existence of the whole world (Ibid.).

Cosmopolitanism symbolizes open-mindedness, tolerance, objectivity and this concept will be a support for a project to look through ideological perspective on human relations and the influence on perception to others.

Values

Intrinsic/Extrinsic value

Value could be understood in two ways - intrinsic value or extrinsic value according to the Korsgaard (Zimmerman, Bradley, 2002). Korsgaard contends that intrinsic value should be

contained as 'final value', having an end of its means, 'for its own sake', and it should be contrasted with extrinsic value which could be claimed being 'instrumental value', value "that something has in virtue of being means to an end" (Ibid.). However, Thomas Hobbes criticized validity of intrinsic value, and he believed that "goodness or badness of something to be constituted by the desire or aversion that one may have regarding it" and that ascriptions of value are prescribed by projections of one's own sentiments (Ibid.). Moreover, this view has been rebuilt by Hägerström, who posited that particular brand of noncognitivism is proposed by "emotivism" when the "ascriptions of value are in essence expressions of emotion" (Ibid.).

De-rationalisation of values

Values and norms have been de-rationalised to become more subjective, emotional dispositions without the reasoning (Sayer, 2003). Markets has been changed to search for an individual's preferences and detract actions – in a way to sell but not rising questions of what is right or good (Ibid.). In general, marketing lost its role in authorizing goodness. It is congenial to capitalism (Ibid.). Consequently, consumption is increasingly serving as a means of identity construction (Ibid.). In a way, appearance began being more important than the behavior of the person towards others and aestheticization goes beyond the direct effects of purchasing commodities (Ibid.). Later about that will be discussed in a concept of life-style.

Moral economy

Moral-political sentiments might potentially motivate trustworthy economic relationships assuming that self-interested economic behavior should be rejected (Ibid.). However, trust is compatible with purely self-interested action (Ibid.). As Andrew Sayer said, economic processes do not presuppose trust; however it identifies a crucial point of embedding on which trust depends. "The moral economy embodies norms regarding the responsibilities and rights of individuals and institutions with respect to others and regarding the nature and qualities of goods, services and environment" (Ibid.). Norms are considered to be a part of moral order however, influenced by networks of power and discussion of cost (Ibid.). A key aspect of moral economy is the welfare state, the system reducing individual's sense of moral obligations (Ibid.). The perception of value and trust in relationship - trust to give something.

This will be used in the project as an aspect of morality. It is the core to understand the aims of appropriation to occur in a conflict of Danes presuming concept *hygge* being their value - intrinsic or extrinsic. This concept is built for understanding differences between intrinsic and extrinsic values and its implication to the Danish society in the case of *hygge* concept abroad. In general, looking at the broader picture of Denmark and applying aspect of moral economy to it, finding its role in this project of cultural appropriation.

Appropriation

For objects to be appropriated the context is essential. Appropriation can be constructed through different modes, ranging from illegal stealing to appreciation (Much and Bauernschmidt, 2012, p. 236). However, in a modern consumer society the economic transactions may take a leaders position in appropriating objects (Ibid.). The appropriation becomes a continuous process of integrating things and concepts into the world shaped and constituted by beliefs and assumptions of one or another culture (Ibid, p. 237). Consequently, appropriation describes how things from being foreign, new, become more familiar and integrated into a particular culture (Ibid, p. 237). This concept is presented as a continuation of literature review, to clarify the importance of context for this project. This concept is built on the theory of marketing studies and will be used because of its flexible look on power relations and will work as a prolongation of the literature review.

Commodification

Commodification is seen as the active process of employment of culture started in the post-Fordist political economy when culture was becoming increasingly connected to the economy (Pröschel, 2012, p. 22). Commercialized cultural goods fits consumption needs and gives in a way the commodity clear purpose (Ibid.). The progress of commodification could be generalized in formula – selling what could be potentially sold instead of selling what should be sold (Ibid.). The demand for cultural goods was prevalent and it led to the expansion of cultural industries (Ibid., p. 23).

Nowadays society is highly commodified where value is measured by profit or price (Ibid., p. 24). It may cause drastic changes in society – concentrating more on exchange value than on

use value – such as, superficialities, when vanity or status become more important than traditional values – achievement and worth (Ibid.).

Commodities could be objects of use with a functional reason and complementation with social value (Ibid., p. 26). Therefore, two perspectives of the goods exist –the purpose or the social meaning (Ibid.). The purposeful consumption of goods could be achieved as simply consuming it by routine. However, another type of consumption constitutes cultural values expressing social meaning of the good (Ibid.). Precisely speaking, the value of good goes beyond use and exchange value, it enters the sphere of culture (Ibid.). Two main forces influence production – the planned commodification process and popular culture (constant recreation of culture by consumers) (Ibid.). Cultures naturally evolve and change over time (Ibid.). This process combines traditional elements with new attributes influenced from outside (Ibid.). Due to it, the dynamism of the culture emerges (Ibid.). This interrelation between past and present conditions creates reformation of culture and expedites its recommencement (Ibid.). Afterwards, cultural products receive their new meaning in the new context by being adapted and then being actively used (Ibid., p. 27). The context of cultural products is able to be changed via commodification process, so therefore due to this ability, commodification is important for cultural appropriation. It is able to exaggerate the extent and speed of cultural objects to be appropriated. Because of commodification process in today's capitalistic society, this project will rely on this concept on the circumstances of creating inequality/domination requested in cultural appropriation to occur. The description of commodification process in the literature review is taken into consideration as well.

Mode of Cultural appropriation

Aspects of Cultural Appropriation to become new local traditions are four - Modification, Objectification/Naming, Incorporation, Transformation (Hahn, 2012, p. 22).

These steps may not be proceed all in and in this written order, interpretations are allowed (Much and Bauernschmidt, 2012, p. 237).

Material modification is about the shift from formal economy (a commodity with a certain price) to moral economy (an object with personal value) (Hahn, 2012, p. 22). This process is connected with producing ‘familiarization’ of a concept with something that was previously

an external, unknown entity and became perceived as a value after having a contact for some time (Ibid., p. 23).

Objectification and Naming is concerned with a task to acquire specificness and uniqueness in the local 'universe of things' (Ibid.). It means a requirement for a set of specific properties and purposes which could express social differentiation (Ibid.).

Incorporation means habits which support an idea that along objectification corporeal interaction between user and object emerge (Ibid., p. 24). This part of the process refers to the type of appropriation - strictly or intentionally controlled and it aims to find ways to set a dialogue between object and people (Ibid.).

Transformation describes the time when commodity is incorporated in the local life-world and becomes individual or collective possession (Ibid., p. 25). It is not considered to be foreign anymore, however in some cases the paradox of knowing about good's global provenance still exists but in owning it way (Ibid.). This term emphasizes new meanings of the good and the creation of new traditions (Ibid., p. 27). These are steps of cultural appropriation taken from theory of marketing studies. It is going to be used as a manual for researchers to test the potentialities of cultural appropriation by those modes mentioned above in the case of hygge in Britain. However, the project focuses on understanding the context of cultural appropriation of hygge concept and the mode of it will be interpreted in a sense of constituting a framework for detecting range of cultural appropriation in this case.

Life-style

The way of understanding life-styles has been changed through time. Before modern times the loyalty to groups like family has been tightly bonded with a person's life-style, conflict of balancing of community and freedom have been not so much known (D.Mbunda, 1983, p. 24). However, after modernism – “the cult of personal satisfaction” (Ibid., p. 24) significant losses, such as alienation, anomie has been detected in societies. Life-style became a product, a construct in this modern world for people to belong to a status group, defined by the principle of consumption of goods (Ibid.,p. 24). Moreover, modern technology, the urbanization of great portions of the population, the possibility of selecting many other things to have and to do were leading to the changes in people's lives (Ibid.,p. 27). Since consumption has become the dominant mode of behavior (Ibid.,p. 25), the time of

consumption becomes equal to leisure time – time for enjoyment of simpler activities related to friendship, visiting, entertaining, making gifts, decorating houses (Ibid.,p. 27). After modern work-force moved out of production into consumption, the class and status situations became mixed and confused (Ibid.,p. 24). According to those changes, life-style became the source of satisfaction and criterion for desirable behavior in society (Ibid.,p. 24). New life-styles, that function in place of traditional ways of life firmly rooted in class and status situations (Ibid.,p. 25). People started searching for a new value coherence, an identity and meaningful place in society from which they gain a sense of belonging and security (Ibid.,p. 31). When the old value orientations no longer work, there is a risk of being normlessness or anomie (Ibid.). People then seek to construct with others a nomic world which makes sense, which has meaning (Ibid.). Consequently, new life-styles arise in a society to the degree that “members of the society ceases to agree on the value of the currency of the markets in commodities and prestige or at least come to recognize other independent sources of value” (Ibid.,p. 31). The shaper of current life-styles is the advanced industrial economy (Ibid.,p. 32). It requires advertising to ensure that buyers will buy the products the big corporations make, or the services they give (Ibid.). Advertising becomes a way of managing what people will buy and when and the result is an economy that encourages waste, throw-away behavior, and the endless consumption of much that is unnecessary (Ibid.). This concept is important to understand the context beyond commodification and cultural appropriation itself. Life-style is a construct of the case this project deconstructs and it provides reasoning for analysing consumerism which is a big part of cultural appropriation of hygge concept.

Conclusion

Each concepts are made to lead for a coherent logical sequence of the developed meta-theory for cultural appropriation. First of all we have our ontological understanding about the world - globalization and capitalism, cosmopolitanism, values, life-style. Those domains are subservient to explain the causal effects from real and actual part of critical realism paradigm. The actual part of this meta-theory are concepts - appropriation, commodification, modes of cultural appropriation. The interpretation of those concepts combines potential causal links to the real part of the approach.

Our meta-theory is developed on the example. Imagine two subjects representing two different countries, Denmark (D) and Great Britain (B). D has an object named ‘hygge’,

commonly perceived as a value, and B does not have it. D being in a welfare position trusts B, therefore playing by the global order norms offers B an object 'hygge' with presumed respect to the value. This transaction is acceptable also because of cosmopolitan ideas which provides trust in each other for global exchange. B is taking and starting to commercialize, commodify it. After commodification, object and the meaning of it has been changed because of the new context which B has created. At the end, 'hygge' has been culturally appropriated and the result leads to having several objects which may overshadow the original meaning in the global perspective. The critical realism provides having in this project philosophical approach which is going to be used in understanding peripeteia of complexity of contemporary capitalism system which produces the construct of cultural appropriation. The extent and abilities of cultural appropriation will be able to be deconstructed by critical realism and adapted to the case of hygge in Britain. The limitations of adaptation of it is going to be interpreted and discussed in the analysis part.

5. Analysis

Analysis will be formed in 3 parts/steps - comparison of secondary data from the perspective of Danes and Brits into Hygge, perception/reaction of interviewees to the cultural appropriation of hygge in Britain, and reasoning of differences between secondary data prevailed information and reaction of interviewees with information designated by conceptual framework. All those three parts together combine the coherence of the project - starting from building a construct based on secondary data about hygge, when reaction of interviewees supplements secondary data and the last part is for understanding the reasons of reaction of interviewees, the context of cultural appropriation and critical view to the research. Overall, the last part is the reflection on the developed meta-theory, modification and justification of it including drawing the outlines of what we believe is connected to the 'real' part of the critical realism approach. We strive to illustrate all three dimensions to reach the most likely 'truth' keeping in mind the borders of our research and depending on our philosophy of science. The epistemology we have employed assumes there is only one reality, but could be interpreted in a number of ways, depending on the individual. Therefore we need to let the reader know that we chose exactly this lens to look through when analysing the gathered data and that if it was

another approach to be adopted, the course of the research would have been different since another `truth` was going to be constructing the reality.

5.1. First part

The first sub-chapter of the analysis introduces to the secondary literature around which we build our assumptions about potential cultural appropriation of hygge in Britain. We employ the literature to support and structure the path our hypothesis developed and hence to compare it to the very same hypothesis. We present below the literature reflecting on concepts such as appropriation, commodification and mode of cultural appropriation. Those concepts are further adopted to create a framework representing the `actual` realm of the critical realism meta-theory and the interconnections with `real` part will be outlined as a prerequisite for the existence of the `actual`.

First of all, appropriation. Appropriation occurs when agencies - individuals or groups start promoting the object and create the story for it for marketing purposes. Will start from appropriation of hygge in Denmark. In saying this, we mean that appropriation happened of taking a word from people and including in commercials it. In the official tourism website visitdenmark.com there has been created a video (Go VisitDenmark 2017) where people are giving their own definitions of hygge and advice on how to feel hygge. Nevertheless, aspect of consumerism is in the background as a feature of creating an atmosphere but not as a main aspect. Main focus is on people and glorification of communal sense. Sensational part of hygge is taken a role and people are expressing their feelings to this cultural value, their attachment to this value. And value is prescribed in this video as more important than commodities even commodities are in the background and in the speeches of people but it is more or less things which create hygge, supports a creation of feelings which hygge is able to suggest as a common idea. So this is the context of hygge in Denmark, which has been developed in time. In 2016 the project CANON has been introduced by Danish government to conduct a list of national values by asking people and hygge occurred to be one of them (Danmarkskanon, 2016). In this way, the value of hygge has been made `for its own sake` (Zimmerman, Bradley, 2002), intrinsic because it has been prescribed by government being nationally declared. Consequently, even the commercialisation, commodification exists in

Denmark of hygge concept but the respect to it being a value is alive in Danes believes too. The mystification, diversification of hygge exists in Denmark mostly because of relation to certain 'goodness', intrinsic values and comfortability to include it in marketing strategies. Danes are usually introduced to hygge by their parents from a young age, therefore the connection for them is different and the perception of hygge in commercials and in their own minds might be different too. However, in terms of modern life-style, hygge concept incorporates those priorities - leisure time, new values than traditional ones, building of identity through things and it gives importance for hygge to be valuable in these days. On the other side, in Britain, book publishers have been working as agents/mediators for hygge concept to be known. However, they have been driven by bigger force ideology of consumer culture. The Guardian newspaper tried to deconstruct the occurrence of hygge in Britain and gave chronological sequence of events which provided a context for appropriation (The Guardian, 2016). According to it, the article written by Justin Parkinson in 2015 "The Year of Living Danishly" in the same newspaper has been very popular and it presumed the curiosity of readers and potential niche market of Danish culture in Britain (Ibid.). This article shows that the first agents has been Brits - exchange students, travellers etc. who experienced hygge in Denmark and had an idea to represent it in Britain. Moreover, earlier, Brits experienced Nordic Noir boom and many editors in Britain paid attention to Denmark, started to seek for writers who would be able to present hygge to society in Britain. In 2016 many books have been written at the same time as editors saw right time and demand for it. Consequently, the context for appropriation has been created and commodification process happened simultaneously. The concept of hygge has been deconstructed, simplified in books for mostly foreigners (books published first in Britain in English) to understand what it is, why it is important, how to create it. However, the concept has been highly related to the commodities, in a case - what items create cosiness, or how to achieve hygge?. The context of concept in Britain has differentiated from context prescribed, perceived in Denmark in a way, that Danes understand it being their part of identity, a value and untranslatable idea, feeling. To sum up, appropriation of hygge has been created both ways - in Denmark (using people's sentiments to create commercials) and Britain in different manners. Danes began promoting it additionally as their national value, the thing which is a part of their national identity and the concept Danes' are proud of, while the Brits have been taken this concept because agents/mediators recognised popularity of Danish culture and potential of new product for

consumers in Britain to buy. Potential has been seen after Nordic Noir popularity, when niche market for Scandinavian products was recognised. Agencies has been working differently - Danes were branding Denmark and promoting to visit, to experience hygge in Denmark, Brits were promoting hygge as a product - to understand ‘happiness of Danes’, to create cosiness, pleasant atmosphere to be.

In this part mode of cultural appropriation will be applied to the case to test if hygge could be culturally appropriated in Britain according to the secondary data. First step, Modification. This process is related to familiarization, it means creating a context for an object to be appropriated (Hahn, 2012, p. 22). In this case the Nordic Noir will be applied as a context which provided information and interest to Danish culture. Scholars say that, its trendiness is related to social problems inside Britain and with interest, curiosity of something foreign. The aspect of whiteness, sentiments to pre-Thatcher times could implicate the popularity of TV series of crime fiction with a script of locations in Denmark and Danes’ life-style (Stougaard-Nielsen, 2016, p. 6). Moreover, the viewers of this show has been seen as a niche market for Scandinavian production to promote (Ibid., p. 4). Moreover, the products are expensive, though it has been used for wealthy people to gain pleasures, appreciate their desires and to create a ‘new identity’ (Harvey, 1992, p. 294). Eventually, it made an impact for hygge concept to be easier acceptable, recognisable, appreciated because the keyword for desirable status of Danes has been promoted as the answer for Danishness. Till this point in history, both countries still are doing cultural exchange without massive commodification process. Second step, Objectification/Naming is related in this case to the Oxford English Dictionary decision to make ‘hygge’ one of the words of the year in 2016 and spread the ‘real’ english definition of it. The definition said - “a quality of cosiness and comfortable conviviality that engenders a feeling of contentment or well-being (regarded as a defining characteristic of Danish culture)” (Midgley, N. 2016, 4:59). In this way, hygge concept gained attention and recognition as the name has been changed into the one more understandable for Brits. Moreover, the authority of institution gave the start for people to trust the information and use it broadly. The concept became well-known and ‘less Danish’ in a sense, that it has been added in the English language dictionary with small relation to the Danish culture. Moreover, the value for Brits of hygge is extrinsic, because they have been familiarized with it mainly from commercials or other forms of commodities and practically speaking only a small part of populations have been experiencing it in Denmark by

themselves to give an intrinsic value for hygge concept. However, Danes may describe/perceive it through their experiences, and the conditions to create this feeling may not be defined and depends on each person therefore the possibility for concept to have intrinsic value is much higher than in Britain. Hygge is used as a set of values that the Danish society may share (Linnet, 2011, p. 23). In this way, we can see the first visible differences from 'hygge' Danes perceive and 'hygge' Brits define. Next step, Incorporation is related to creating a dialog between people and an object (Hahn, 2012, p. 24). In our case books written in English language by the order from editors in Britain made this incorporation effect. It has made a clear connection between people and hygge through commodities, simple list of advice based on commodities. The last point is transformation. This point is crucial because it overarches regular, normal, idyllic cultural exchange and turns into cultural appropriation. The transformation happens than object is termed into new meanings, new traditions are created and the context of the object is changed - it is likely that origins of the cultural object is mislead (Ibid., p. 25). In this case the researchers believe that incorporation happened when stores began to use the term in their descriptions of items, were created stores with name 'hygge' and even do not mention Denmark as the context of concept and promote their items in relation to the trendiness and popularity of concept itself, cosiness and happiness. The Danishness is incorporated with minimalistic, designer's furniture and accessories, the hygge is related with prestige and desirable items, design. However, originally hygge is not supposed to be related to prestige or expensive items (Linnet, 2011, p. 26). Consequently the commodification process fastened the modes of cultural appropriation and according to this research in this case the phase of transformation happened and made it to be a global thing appropriated from Danes' culture. Reeling to the assumptions, transformation of cultural object is leading to the cultural appropriation and researchers of this project conclude that according to the secondary data, the work of agencies and mode of cultural appropriation, the process of cultural appropriation happened.

To sum up, this chapter provided an explanation on what facts we have formed our hypothesis and the literature has been employed in order to support our findings and our potential meta-theory. Moreover, comparison of hygge in Denmark and hygge in Britain has been made and it revealed differences which occurred, according to our hypothesis, because of commodification and commercialization of this concept. In conclusion we claim that our hypothesis that cultural appropriation of hygge in Britain has been created.

5.2. Second part

The second sub-section of the analysis is dedicated to reflections to the studied phenomena based on the primary data we have gathered from the interviewees and is representing the third dimension of our meta-theory- the empirical. Besides, the analysis of the primary data will be exploited to test whether or not it will support the findings of the secondary data and will therefore prove that our assumptions are correct.

To start with, we will be looking at the definition for Hygge, the interviewees gave and their position whether or not it is a value. All three participants had a hard time describing hygge and they, with some differences, did so as „... a kind of combination of factors, is very nice feeling.“ (Participant 1) As found in our secondary literature as well, the concept is unique for everybody and even though it basically refers to the same emotion, it could be encountered in various ways depending on a person's preferences. This is further supported by Participant 2, which explains: „with Danes with other Danes, we often say `and then we will hygge` and then we think that we have a common understanding of what it is...“

Participant 1 also shares that „... many people can relate to that word one way or another. Perhaps not in the same way, maybe it's not brought about the same things as for me and those I know“. Moreover, all three participants have agreed upon hygge being a value. Participant 1 focuses more on the sentimental worth of the term and connects it with childhood memories as well as personal ritualistic activities: „it's definitely an idea as well as a sentimental value, cultural value.“ While, Participant 2 put emphasize on the mundane part of hygge as something that is simply present or not: „. I think general in our everyday life put in hygge all the time. But I don't know if it, for me it's very difficult to describe because we just have this word. I think other people do the same things but maybe they need more words to describe it.“

When it comes to the aims of appropriation, we have asked the interviewees if by their opinion, it could be said that Britain is applying hygge as a way to solve internal social problems, but we have received a negative reaction except for Participant 3, who pointed out that „Hygge is often used as escapism like that's kind of built into the word, because I think ... That's the same with coziness like when you chill out with your friends or your family,

that's something you do ...lying down and de stress from your...work and everyday life so , so, sure, it is a form of escapism.“ Furthermore, Participant 1 has expressed his approval on the matter of Britain using hygge in other ways „it could help people to maybe find a common ground or to find more peace or more joy, then absolutely....“ In general, the actors showed generosity when it comes to hygge spreading in Britain, which indicated the occurrence of cultural exchange. Not only that the interviewees are willing to share the concept abroad, but Participant 2 also believes that “...they have it already. But they, they call it something else...” With that, s/he referred to the English tea tradition and explained that “If people have problems, then their friends will suggest that they sit down and have a cup of tea and talk about it and that is to add hygge to difficult situations...”

Despite approving the transmission of hygge in Britain, the interviewees slightly changed their opinion about the ways in which hygge has been used, when it comes to its advertising. For instance Participant 3 stated: „ It's pretty simple but even that can be commercialized and put into a package and sold to people. So that's pretty interesting and I'm not sure I'm a fan of it and that I necessarily think it's a good thing, but that's also because I generally think it's pretty problematic when stuff is commercialized and commoditized in that way.“

Furthermore s/he said: „...it is a problem in general when this sort of very... sort of personal stuff that should be kind of outside the market and something that is like... doesn't have to involve money and that you don't have to spend money on it...” Participant 1 also supports the opinion: “...that everything that gets turned up and packaged and sold loses some of its sentimental value.” The interviewee expresses feelings behind the commodification of hygge saying: “that those specific items just because it is branded for hygge, will bring hygge, again is the context in which it's used in. And for sure, I mean even though they can bring hygge, I think it is a ridiculous concept to sell them as hygge branded products.”

On the other hand Participant 2 has expressed a different attitude towards the commodification of hygge. S/he gave an example with an advertisement in Denmark about Christmas beer and how when: “that came across when I see that advertisement, my thoughts go to, maybe I will go to bar and have a Christmas brew with a friend! So, so it works in that sense.” However, when s/he was presented to an advertisement campaign that employs the word hygge for selling yoga head-bands attached from any original meaning, the participant

emphasized that the involvement of the word *hygge* itself does not make a product: “For me I think it wouldn’t work if I didn’t think that it will bring me real *hygge*.”(Participant 2) Moreover, the interviewee draws a distinction between products that are contributing to the *hygge* feeling and the products that are called *hygge* just for the sake of marketing strategy. The advertisement “...work well in commercial where you can see yourselves having a good time with friends or having a good time on your own without stress and it’s product which give that to you, is helping you get that. But as I said, it comes also from within, you are part of it.”(Participant 2) Besides, Participant 1 also revealed that s/he: “... have my definition and my associations with the concept of *hygge* and as long as I have that, then it’s not devalued by others, should we say, selling it like that.” Yet in s/he accepts applying *hygge* to advertise goods “...as cheap marketing, as a cheap effort to make money...”.

When the participants were faced with the provocative question about *hygge*, being „stolen“ from Danes, they rejected that idea. According to Participant 3 the concept is not nearly stolen „... because it isn’t ours in a first place. The word is, I guess, but the concept is not.“ In fact, their answers displayed a belief, that *hygge* is just the Danish word to describe this specific meaning, but they recognize that this is not necessarily Danish feeling, but one that everybody can experience with no matter of their nationality or demographics as Participant 2 clarifies: „I think other people do the same things but maybe they need more words to describe it.“ And Participant 1 supported the sharing perspective and said: “...if it can bring some people joy and if it can make some people money... it doesn’t hurt anybody. Doesn’t hurt me and it doesn’t hurt the Danish nation in my eyes.” S/he further elaborated: “of course will be beneficial, would be great if it were advertised that this is from Denmark, you know, they were selling locally imported brands or something like that-Oh great, but if not, then... then huh.”

5.3. Third part

Last, but not least, our final sub-chapter will expose the interpretations of meeting the primary and secondary data. By doing so, we seek to either verify or reject our hypothesis and gain deeper insight into the mechanisms embedded in the studied phenomena.

This part is responsible for reflection of first and second parts. Here the 'real' part of critical realism will be included and connections between 'actual', 'empirical' and 'real' parts will be established after impact on meta-theory from interviewees answers. This part is essential for the project because reasons of the first parts of analysis will be given and broader perspective, context for meta-theory will be made. Moreover, reasons of 'empirical' part will be discussed and explained, and it gives a validity for the project.

First of all, the concept of value. When interviewees have been asked, if they perceive hygge as a value, mostly all of them replied directly 'yes' or with some explanations but all of it has been connected with value. However, interviewees were not willing to protect that value, they generously wanted to share it, borrow it to others if they need it. The reason for their perception is in their understanding about hygge being a value. Hygge does not have value 'for its own sake', it does not have intrinsic value according to our participants, however hygge has extrinsic value which remains in something what hygge could provide. The value of hygge is what it is able to create - social, safe, cosy atmosphere, consensus, agreement between people to have nice time together (Participants 1,2,3). Consequently, as type of value is shifted from intrinsic to extrinsic there is an ability to share hygge, to exchange it. This transformation of value types of hygge has been influenced by commercials in Denmark too. Moreover, another important aspect is the country itself. Denmark has a welfare state system, which stands for principles of moral economy and the government created a system reducing individual's sense of moral obligations (Sayer, 2003). No/less sense of responsibility creates an atmosphere when people may not care about hygge abroad, they feel sure that it is going to remain the same because it is under the government's protection. Another important aspect here is cosmopolitanism. It is an open way of thinking, it contains tolerance and the idea of desirable world community (Maftai, 2014, p. 515). Cosmopolitanism has been seen as an ideal approach in this global world. Denmark is willing to dictate global order in sustainable environment field, standing for peace in the world etc. and it gives the impression for citizens that in general ideas of cosmopolitanism is possible because the role of Denmark in politics arena can prove it for them (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018, p. 3). All things together shows that cultural exchange as an ideal is possible in the perception of interviewees and extrinsic value, moral economy, cosmopolitanism, global order, are some reasons for them to believe in it. However, the perception to commercials and marketing is slightly

negative of interviewees (See Appendix 2). Many reasons could be revealed to understand the reaction of interviewees. Participants did not react to the commodification process aggressively or visibly because the value for it is not hygge in itself but what it gives to people, also people are used to seeing commercials in Denmark with hygge concept, or correspondents were not aware of commercials in Britain and could not acknowledge it to the level of reaction, or Danes might be reserved and do not show emotions. However, in general, negativism regarding the capitalism system has been detected, Participant 1 complained about mass consumerism and marketing strategies, while Participant 2 has shown mature approach and did not react negatively. S/he reacted to the mention of the store 'hyggebands.com' which is responsible for selling bands for sport with label hygge. The only inconvenience has been if the items are related to what hygge means or to what hygge should give. If commercialized goods with a name hygge are supporting the idea of hygge and are able to create a cozy atmosphere, make people relaxed and socialize, when any company is legitimized to use concept in their advertisements, according to the Participant 2. Overall, the impact of globalisation might be underestimated. It is understandable for Danes to control the impact on hygge in their own country, but what about abroad? In this hyper-globalization times, cultural objects which enter global exchange sphere may be changed and detached from their original context because the rest of the world is not living by the cosmopolitan ideas, might believe in practical consumerism, without respect to heritage of other countries. The last concept life-style is able to provide an understanding of this high- consumerism culture and desires to build identity, status from things. However, Denmark is different from Britain. Danes have family traditions, they are taught about hygge from childhood and their perception is built on respect, on something being sacred (Linnet, 2011, p. 23). While Brits have been introduced to the concept through commercials and they may not feel the same respect to the concept, it becomes related to something popular within country, something that all people speak about. That is how the hygge in Britain has reached the point when stores do not even write the origin country of the hygge concept, because it is only a trending thing, it does not require explanation because people have been appropriated it, the context of concept has been changed. The interviewees may not be acknowledged of it, their interests may still remain in their own country but not abroad and they feel certain about prosperity of hygge. To sum up, the perception of interviewees to hygge declared their connection and responsibility of it. It is a value in the sense that it creates a value, social, national. Having

different approach to it is easier to attend cultural exchange because the believe in it is grounded in Denmark and their people. However, the future will show whether or not global exchange will create more 'hygges' and change the original one.

6. Discussion

The analysis also sets up a foundation for discussion, which sums up the overall processes and findings out of the theoretical and conceptual perspective. The discussion chapter is dedicated to noticing aspects and elements out of the centralized subject but still ones that participate in constructing it.

Our starting point for research was hygge, since our attention, as foreign students in Denmark, was grabbed by the uniqueness of this concept. After going through a large amount of literature, we were convinced that the concept was mis-used and therefore commodified, especially considering the levels of popularity such as in Great Britain.

Additional data specifically about hygge being appropriated in Britain is about to come out and we contacted the researcher, but unfortunately we were unable to get access to the material. The rest of the data we found is generally from international literature due to our inability to employ Danish literature and most of the material about hygge is, naturally, in Danish language.

However, the literature search gave us base to form a hypothesis about hygge being culturally appropriated in Great Britain and moreover, it provides us defense for our arguments. Following this assumption, we developed a narrative throughout the first part of the analysis, backed up with secondary data. Our goals were to portrait and comprehend better the underlying structures, having account in constructing the cultural appropriation of hygge. Later on, while analysing the primary data, our critical approach draw us to a controversy to our initial hypothesis. Our empirical evidence did not further support the occurrence of hygge being culturally appropriated in Britain. Therefore, we are constrained into dismissing the idea which we drew for outlining the reality and the 'real' dimension of our meta-theory.

However, there are factors concerning hygge that are endorsed by the analysis interpretations, such as the commodification of the concepts. Even though the reality we have set could be suitable as well as the components, constructing the `actual` realm, we can not conclude that hygge is culturally appropriated, since our empirical data demonstrated that there are no effects on the Danes, therefore appropriation can not exist. Hygge is part of Danish culture and is part of them, along with their willingness to share it. And if by sharing, other nations convert hygge into a brand or into something different than the original hygge, Danes claim that for them hygge is going to remain hygge.

Although, we insist in the truthfulness of the research, we believe it is crucial to note that our results are sustained by the data we collected, but are strongly respective and thus, we do not intend to generalize any of the touched matters.

7. Conclusion

The project has been constructed on hypotheses based on the perception of international students in Denmark and their interest to the concept of hygge. Their interest and information about it has been lacking objectivity in a way that researchers are outsiders for experiencing cultural rituals, traditions in Denmark. Therefore, the positioning of hygge by government as a national, cultural value has been taken for granted in a perception of intrinsic value.

Consequently, hygge abroad and specifically in Britain, consumerism and commodification of it have been perceived as cultural appropriation by default by researchers of this project. Especially, applying mode of appropriation, comparing countries, hypotheses of researchers have been supported by secondary data. However, the triangulation and over-use in social media of cultural appropriation has made difficulties of developing literature review and trusting the validity of it. Therefore, the applicability of it for the concept of hygge in Britain has been a challenge and an interest. The research is combining two things - constructing a meta-theory for cultural appropriation phenomena and analysis of its applicability to the concept in Britain. Researchers with events in the `actual` part of critical realism theoretically constructed the possibility of cultural appropriation to exist however empirical data overarched the theoretical thinking and the whole analysis were able to show the world

through the eyes of Danes. It has been shown that Danes have a specific relationship to the concept of hygge. They created an ability to distribute the one they perceive as a value and the one that is commercialized. They have perceived a critical way of looking at advertisements. Moreover, Danes expose their role in the global order by presenting themselves as leaders in various spheres. They demonstrate generosity for hygge to be spread to other countries if those countries have social problems. However, it has been made in a consensus that concept would be respected by default. The differences of perceptions to value, differences of origins of researchers and interviewees have made a project multi-dimensional, including the perception of internationals to the concept of hygge and Danes'. It gave to the project critical reflection of what is the role of hygge concept and clarified its differences - perceived and commercialized. This hybridization has not been accounted by researchers therefore cultural appropriation in Britain of hygge has been rejected by Danes. To sum up, recognition of the limitations of interpreting the role of hygge for the Danes and the empirical findings gathered by researchers gave field for broadening the understanding of the Danish culture. Therefore, the conclusion about the existence of cultural appropriation of hygge in Britain nowadays could not be proved, but we still argue that the meta-theory could still be relevant for other cultural concepts from other countries in this contemporary capitalistic world. Moreover, cultural appropriation of hygge is not recognized by the Danes so far, but the case could be different in time if the processes on hygge continue developing.

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