e-ISSN 2785-2709

Lagoonscapes
Vol. 5 – Num. 2 – December 2025

Zoning in and out
Traditional Aquapelagic Temporality and Chronometric Time in the Faroe Islands

Firouz Gaini
University of the Faroe Islands, Faroe Islands

Erika Hayfield
University of the Faroe Islands, Faroe Islands

Philip Hayward
University of British Columbia, Canada

Abstract Western chronometric time constitutes a type of temporal orientation that contrasts to earlier approaches to time and temporality. This essay explores the disjunctures between traditional temporal patterns and modern chronometric time in the Faroe Islands. We outline the geo-physical situation of the islands and their aquapelagic orientation as the context for traditional Faroese temporality and provide a series of vignettes that illustrate the persistence of pre-chronometric temporality and sensibilities in contemporary society. Through exploring these we suggest how alternative temporalities might be a resource for communities in late capitalist societies.

Keywords Faroe Islands. Temporality. Aquapelagos. Insularity. Concept of time.

Edizioni Ca'Foscari

Peer review

Submitted 2025-09-02
Accepted 2025-11-07
Published 2025-12-18

Open access

Citation Gaini, F.; Hayfield, E.; Hayward, P. (2025). "Zoning in and out. Traditional Aquapelagic Temporality and Chronometric Time in the Faroe Islands". *Lagoonscapes*, 5(2), 473-498.

DOI 10.30687/LGSP/2785-2709/2025/02/010

1 Introduction

> Time accelerates, decelerates, expands, and contracts… Time is individual and subjective. It is not always linear. We all are moving through time (or maybe time is moving through us), yet our experiences of time are not the same… Having control over one's own time and making decisions about the use of one's time is a privilege not afforded to many… Ultimately, time must be understood as plural, multiple, fractured, subjective, contestable, relative, and uneven. Yet, time is also collective…Time can often seem like an external dimension, an objective force acting upon the social world or as a container or boundary for social life. Yet time is emergent from social life, it is produced from socio-political relations and power dynamics. (Bhandari 2022, 779)

This reflective essay, authored by two Faroese 'insiders' in collaboration with an external researcher, explores the interfaces and/or misfits between the traditional temporal patterns of Faroese communities and chronometric time, which has made uneven and partial inroads into Faroese culture over the last two centuries. We draw on the considerable lived experience of the two Faroese authors in the islands as a framework for our discussions and complement this with reference to a range of cultural materials that convey aspects of traditional island temporality. The third (non-Faroese) author has contributed his expertise in aquapelagic theory and provided an outsider's eye on the phenomena we discuss informed by his experiences in the Faroe Islands during his visit in 2024.

In what follows we recognise that not just the Faroese, but all modern societies, exhibit temporal dynamism (and/or disjunctures) and a resultant "multiple sense of temporality" (Abram 2017, 75) to some degree but also assert that local engagements with these factors – such as those in the Faroes – can have distinct characteristics and cultural significances. Chronometric time, measured and displayed with precision by mechanical and, more latterly, digital media), is most evident in the Faroes in the capital, Tórshavn, and (unsurprisingly) in the international airport at Vágar. It is, however, less marked and deterministic within smaller and more remote communities across the country where more traditional daily, seasonal, annual and generational temporalities have been retained, to varying degrees. As we go on to discuss, the relationship between traditional and chronometric times is complex. Indeed, as the opening quotation to this essay emphasises, it is "plural, multiple, fractured, subjective, contestable, relative, and uneven" (Bhandari 2022, 779) and can also be manipulated by communities who recognise that they do not have to be subservient to a chronometric hegemony introduced from elsewhere.

There is, of course, nothing unusual about some communities being less dominated by chronometric time than others. For much of history, humans have not had access to, let alone systematic reliance on, chronometric equipment. The earliest forms of time-keeping devices (sundials and water clocks) date back to ancient Egypt (ca. 1200 BCE), but were relatively few in number and, similarly, while mechanical clocks were invented in Europe in the fouteenth century, they did not become widely available until the eighteenth century (and then only on civic buildings, in places of work and middle and upper class homes). In terms of portable technologies, pocket watches were introduced and became popular amongst affluent westerners in the eighteenth century and wristwatches became available and affordable to a broader population after World War One.[1] Digital mobile devices – which combine digital time keeping with telephony and a range of other functions – are the latest media to have spread chronometry through global communities. Along with these technologies, organisational practices and schedules related to factories (fixed shift patterns marked by sonic alerts, the practice of clocking-on etc.), transport networks (first rail timetables and then scheduled flights) and broadcasting (with fixed program times creating rhythms across the day), all helped cement a chronometric organisation of time and, arguably, of consciousness in those societies heavily permeated by them. However, this diffusion was not uniform in the moments at which and/or extents to which it permeated regions and/or specific communities within them. In the contemporary era, even with the spread of mobile device networks across the planet, remote and/or rural areas often exhibit less emphasis on and/or apparent sense of obligation to follow chronometric time than urban ones. Island have come in for particular attention in this regard. Distinctly loose and contingent patterns of temporality in (non-urbanised) island communities – often referred to, somewhat monolithically, as 'island time' – are, for example, evident in various communities whose activities precede (and now proceed without close adherence to) modern chronometric technologies and schedules due to their internal livelihood cyclicities.

The distinct approaches to temporality – and, in some instances, multi-temporality – in Melanesian societies have received particular attention. Scaglion's research on the Abelam community of East Sepik province, Papua New Guinea, for example, led him to characterise that

> Although Abelam do recognize and make reference to historical or linear time, their primary temporal orientation is fundamentally

1 See Donzé 2022 for a detailed history.

e-ISSN 2785-2709

> different, being based on notions of episodicity, cyclicity, repetition, and replacement. (Saglion 1999, 211)

This characterisation accords with a significant strand of anthropology that stresses the qualitative nature of time as a socially experienced and, thereby, *constructed* phenomenon (Munn 1992). There are various ways of approaching the social experience of time shared by those (directly or indirectly) involved in livelihood patterns and relations to seasonal patterns or long-term cycles and episodes, and of how these become culturally inscribed. These include shared understandings of work patterns, resource use and planning and the inscription of the temporal sensibilities involved in aspects such as language and visual-material artefacts that can serve as orientation points and/or reflections on temporal sensibilities themselves (as explored by the various contributors to Fortis and Küchler 2021). Such analyses focus on Indigenous temporalities as internally generated and maintained phenomena. Exploring locational factors from another angle, within a more chronometrically determined context, Oroz (2022) has explored island time – or, at least, island time on the Adriatic island of Dugi Otok – and the way in which it has been culturally constructed between insiders and outsiders. This process, he contends, has been marked by "overlapping discourses of temporal othering, usually imposed by non-islanders" and "internalised notions of time slowing down" that "are re-appropriated by islanders and entangled and sustained for the purpose of island branding and touristic promotion" (Oroz 2022, 13).

Oroz characterises his intervention into discussions of island time as being located at the "crossroads of Mediterranean studies, island studies, time studies and Balkan Studies" (Oroz 2022, 9) and being presented in order to "trigger fresh perspectives in our understanding of 'island time'" (13). In what follows we also position our related reflections at the crossroads of cultural anthropology, island studies, Nordic studies and time studies. As importantly – and in our attempt to "trigger fresh perspectives" – we approach our island context study from the perspective of aquapelago studies.[2] Within this, we regard the island aspect as a component of an integrated terrestrial and aquatic assemblage generated by livelihood activities and subsequently inscribed with the everyday practices and cultural imaginary of communities. Within aquapelagic contexts, experience of working on and/or in the sea has its own patterns and cycles that create distinct temporalities. These patterns merit detailed analysis, both in general and in the Faroese context, but are not addressed below (except in passing), given our focus on the terrestrial (i.e., island)

2 See Hayward, Joseph 2023 for a detailed overview.

manifestation of aquapelagic patterns. Like Oroz's article, our case study is also a European one that examines the "entanglement of space, body, and time… reflective of the "modernity emerging at the fringe of diverse borderland regimes" (2022, 12) However, the "borderland" we address is significantly different to Oroz's case study, lying at the northwestern edge of Europe in a territory slowly extricating itself from Danish colonial administration. Located in the northeastern corner of the Atlantic Ocean in a cold water context, the hedonistic Sun-Sea-Sand-Sex aspect of Mediterranean tourism outlined by Oroz in Dugi Otok[3] is replaced by more demanding hiking and adventure tourism and experience of natural landscapes and the various types of mist, drizzle and rain that frequently envelope them.

We commence by outlining key determinants on the physical, economic and cultural nature of the Faroe Islands, contemplate the nature of Faroese island temporality as generated by and manifested in various aquapelagic practices and then conclude with what can be gleaned from the national experience of time to reflect more broadly and "trigger fresh perspectives" on contemporary/Anthropocene temporalities.

2 The Faroes and its Aquapelagality

Located midway between Norway and Iceland, the Faroes Islands is a self-governing territory within Denmark with a population of ca. 55,000. Many Faroese – and particularly young islanders – spend time in Denmark for study, work or vacations during their lives, and with a substantial proportion returning, in what can be regarded as a cyclical pattern of migration (Hayfield 2017). While the total landmass of the eighteen main islands, hundreds of adjoining islets and skellies is only 1,400 km^2 **[fig. 1]**, the Faroes has a large regional footprint through its maritime economic exclusion zone, which covers ca. 274,000 km^2 of ocean. Traditionally reliant on fishing as a subsistence and trading activity, the Faroes is home to a paradigmatically aquapelagic society in which aquatic spaces are essential to the islanders' "habitation of land and their senses of identity and belonging" (Hayward 2012, 5). The concept of the aquapelago, initially advanced in debates in the journal *Shima* in 2012-14,[4] was formulated to characterise societies that are heavily reliant on marine resources and the various ways that reliance creates a distinct *weltanschauung* (world view) that

3 While Oroz does not discuss the fourth 'S' in his article, we presume the holidaymakers he refers to are – at very least – not adverse to practicing it.

4 This material has been collated online at: `https://www.shimajournal.org/anthologies/aquapelago.php`.

e-ISSN 2785-2709

is reflected in socio-cultural activities and expressions. Indeed, stressing the human dimension, Suwa has described aquapelagic spaces such as the Faroes as ones where "landscape and personhood merge" (2012, 15).

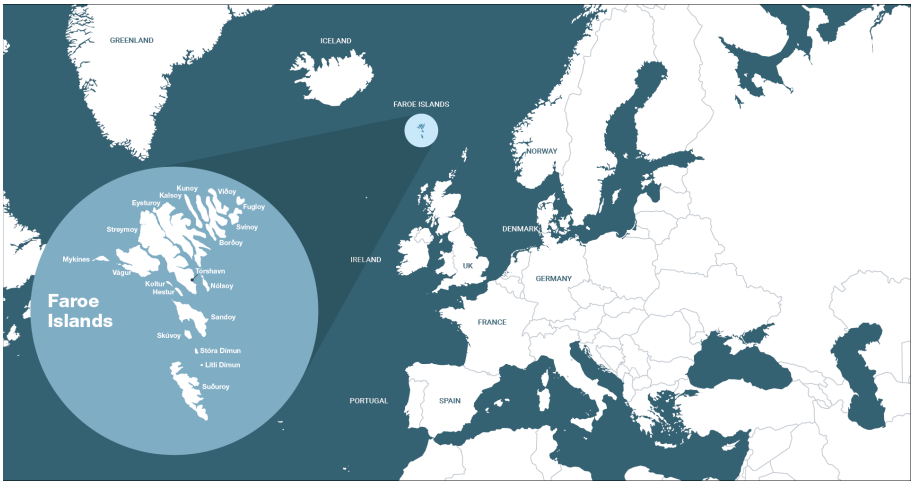

Figure 1 Map of Føroyar (The Faroe Islands) (elaboration produced by Erika Hayfield, 2025)

With an aggregated coastline that runs for 1,120 kilometres, it is difficult to escape the sea. On the islands nowhere is located more than five kilometres away from the coast, and (with one minor exception)[5] all Faroese communities are coastal ones. The feeling of being at the water's edge, on a narrow strip of land composed of treeless valleys and grassy, cone-shaped mountains, makes it hard to forget that you are island dweller living an island life within a vast oceanic space. The Faroes is also an unusually wet place, constantly waterlogged by precipitation arising from the warm transatlantic Gulf Stream. "It is like living at the bottom of the sea", says Minervudóttir, "even daily speech is low and soft… almost like an undersea language" (2003, 25-6). The soothing sound of water is also a motif in many songs and poems. "The Ocean sang over me a lullaby, the surf put me to sleep", wrote Jákup Dahl (1878-1944), for instance, in a beloved verse.

Exposed to the exceptionally unpredictable and incalculable elements of the North Atlantic, Faroe Islanders' everyday practices and enterprises were (and could be nothing but) temporally conditional and negotiable until the twentieth century, and then for only a handful of inhabitants (Gaini 2018, 7). It was – and, to some

5 Vatnsoyrar, in central Vágar.

e-ISSN 2785-2709

extent, still is – difficult to make plans with a fixed time schedule in the islands. Fishers of past generations needed skills and science, "but also art and omen" (Gaffin 1996, 30). The ocean's flows and twirls, its capriciousness and intensity, resonating the maritimity of the temporal orientation of islanders, is alien to the present-day hegemony of chronometric time, and its continuing influence on the pace of life in the North Atlantic should not be underestimated. The temporal dynamism created by the interplay between nature's flow and the movements and schedules of everyday life constitutes what could be called 'Faroese time', which is premised on waiting, hoping and doubting as capacities that connect the past to the future, and vice versa. Chronometric time may be used in such durées but does not determine them. Time, says Augé, "is a palimpsest; everything inscribed there does not reappear, and sometimes the earliest inscriptions surface most easily" (2016, 85).

The temporality of the aquapelagic assemblage can be considered as suspended within the fluidity of the sea. Discussing so-called 'liquid modernity', Bauman offers this interesting reflection about fluids

> Fluids, so to speak, neither fix space nor bind time. While solids have clear spatial dimensions but neutralize the impact, and thus downgrade the significance, of time (effectively resist its flow or render it irrelevant), fluids do not keep to any shape for long and are constantly ready (and prone) to change it; and so for them it is the flow of time that counts, more than the space they happen to occupy: that space, after all, they fill but 'for a moment'. In a sense, solids cancel time; for liquids, on the contrary, it is mostly time that matters. (Bauman 2000, 2)

Baumann's presentation of solid/fluid contrasts is insightful for the example at hand. Through their practices, creating the 'islandness' of the islands within their aquapelago, the Faroese negotiate the boundaries and connections between the sea and the land and with time itself. The narration and negotiation of slow/fast and wavering time at spatiotemporal intersections, based on social and cultural representations of time, is a process that reflects local/global (temporal) dynamics in flux in a small island setting. It can be characterised as the art of "temporal trampolining", moving back and forth in time in relation to work and movements (Pedersen 2012, 5-9). While the analytic slow/fast time dichotomies obviously refer to representations of relative tempi linked to a variety of settings and domains – which generate clashes between competing (and in some cases hierarchical) temporalities as they intersect – they suggest a wavering trajectory of time and of chronometric time in particular. In what follows, we explore this through vignettes of Faroese

experience that exemplify traditional Faroese senses of temporality and indifference, resistance to and/or partial accommodation of chronometric hegemony.[6]

3 The Shore and the *Rekamaður*

At the island's edge, between land and sea, "every intrusive artefact, material and cultural, has had to pass", Dening asserted (1980, 31) – at least until international air transport became an alternative in the twentieth century – and the coastline is therefore an essential cultural contact zone and place of reception, waiting and departure. The water's edge in the Faroes comprises wind-swept and wave-beaten shorelines of a rocky or sandy nature that are the result of centuries of coastal erosion and storms. This dynamism fosters a narrative of the island "as always becoming" (Kothari, Arnall 2019, 313). The practice of *at leita eftir reka* and the figure of the *rekamaður* are notable in this context. The two terms translate most easily into English as 'beachcombing' and 'beachcomber' but are very different in their nature. The English language terms date back to the 1840s and suggests a relaxed and amiable whiling away of the hours collecting material such as shells or wooden objects along beaches, as typified in E.J. Banfield's 1908 memoir *Confessions of a Beachcomber*, which served to popularise the practice. The Faroese term *at leita eftir reka*, has substantially different connotations that reflect the deep roots of the practice in the region. In essence, the term refers the act of seeking and gathering *reki* (something that is floating in the sea or drifting ashore). *At leita eftir reka* held a particular position in traditional Faroese culture, particularly in the medieval era when *reki* had a high value. Given the absence of trees on the islands, wood was (and still is) a premium product, and it was not an easy task to import timber for house building. What is known in English as driftwood was once the main source for all timber used for construction of houses in the Faroes. In the remote village

6 We stipulate that we explore illustrative vignettes in this article since the relatively short space of a journal article does not provide us with nearly enough space to explore the wide range of temporally related systems and behaviours that exist in the islands. To give two examples of topics that we have not had space to consider: seasonality was once a major rhythm in the island fishery but is one that has largely been over-ridden by highly mobile industrial fishing ships. Tidal factors have also been important in local artisanal fisheries – particularly the *kyrrindi*, the period when the tide turns, although these local fisheries are now much diminished.

e-ISSN 2785-2709

of Gásadalur, a family managed to build a whole sitting room from precious mahogany wood found on a beach.[7]

Indeed, *reki* was so important to the local economy that, the right to collect it from the beach was regulated in traditional law.[8] There were also rules concerning the size of driftwood that could be taken. Small items of driftwood could be collected by local people while larger pieces were the property of the (Danish) king, or rather, his local representatives. Driftwood with no clear sign of human processing (such as timber from whole trees) could be collected and used or traded by the *rekamaður* (Petersen 2013, 76-7). Illustrating the deep roots of the activity, there is a term, *rekaplás*s, that denotes beaches known to offer good access to *reki* and, thereby, locales within the Faroes where *at leita eftir reka* has been more prominent than elsewhere. Given that farmers had rights of ownership to the beaches adjacent to their land, they could also monitor and restrict *at leita eftir reka* in their areas but, in practice, many people, especially poor people without land properties, engaged in it as a semi-clandestine practice. Patience and persistence were essential, as the arrival times of precious drifting materials were unknown, and no outcome was guaranteed from extended periods of monitoring the shoreline. The most famous *rekaplás*s in the Faroes were the coves in Viðoy, the main beaches in Vágar, and the beach in Kirkjubø and most of the driftwood washing ashore there, and elsewhere in the Faroes, starts its long oceanic journey in the mouth of rivers such as the Yenisey) in northern Siberia, drifting into the Kara Sea and then further to the North Atlantic (KvF 2017).

Jens Pauli Heinesen's novel *Rekamaðurin* (1977) drew on this local heritage and introduced the reader to an unusually stubborn and optimistic man waiting for the 'perfect catch' to bring wealth and honour to him and his kin. A local proverb says *tolin trívst* (patience thrives'), implicitly contrasting temporal self-control and endurance against the "lack of decorum" of haste and impatience (Bourdieu 1979, 57). While *at leita eftir reka* is now a far more marginal practice, the *rekamaður* remains significant for embodying the dynamic connection between the sea and the land in the aquapelago and for performing and demonstrating some of the temporalizing elements of life on small islands. Their solitary enterprise, scouring

7 Referred to in KVF (2017). *Rakamaðurin á Hellunum* (documentary by Mikkelsen. T. and Eli Dam, J.). Tórshavn: National public broadcast company of the Faroe Islands. https://kvf.fo/sjon/sending/rekamadurin-hellunum?sid=75858.

8 *Reki* was defined as everything drifting in the sea that no owner is collecting. Everything that had once been in another possession before it was lost at sea – like chests, timber, clothes, etc. – was the property of the king, if the owner did not lay claim to the objects within a specified period of time (Petersen 2013, 71). Later, in the nineteenth century, *reki* offshore was deemed the property of the State.

the waterfront for exotic objects over extended periods, is motivated by their eagerness to discover 'new' things that are not present on the island. The first passage of Heinesen's book (1977, 1) introduces the core dilemma of its protagonist

> Very few beachcombers enter World History, they search and search, lie awake throughout the night in fear that the flotsam of a lifetime will be taken by the current along the waterfront without anyone to take care of it.[9]

The problem is not just foraging in vain. The worst thing is to fail to spot 'once in a lifetime' material onshore before it is carried away by the waves and currents. This is the ultimate scenario that keeps Heinesen's *rekamaður* restless and insomniac. He never knows what the next day's catch will comprise (or whether there will be any the next day). In the novel, the *rekamaður*'s one-man enterprise represents a Herculean effort that, like a Sisyphean trial, falters every time it approaches its goal (Gaini 2011). Even after painful failure (he loses a huge haul), the *rekamaður* returns to the beach to start anew, because "maybe he would, this very night, find the passage through the headland of hope" (Heinesen 1977, 117). *Rekamaðurs* collect objects that they make creative use of. In this regard, *at leita eftir reka*, is more than simply scavenging. The *rekamaður* acts as a *bricoleur*, rearranging available materials into new motifs. The *rekamaður* is motivated by prospects of the imminent future manifest in people's dreams and desires. As Anatole France says, "out of generous dreams come beneficial realities" (cited in Urry 2016, 23). As prime site of potentiality, the future continues "to inform actions in the present" (Nielsen 2011, 417). From this perspective, seeing the present as "not-yet" (Pels 2015, 789), the *rekamaður* acts as the agent of altered futures through his 'outlandish' findings. His practice involves a temporal collage of aspiration, with images from the past, the present, and the future combined in a creative composition. This temporal negotiation at the water's edge, using flotsam as roots to the future, brings something old and makes something new, as Dening (1980, 31) says, symbolizing coastal communities' wavering temporalism in a location of rolling stones, gusts of wind and surging breakers that remind us "that nothing is ever completely still here" (Boon, Buter, Jeffries 2018, 9).

The temporalities at the ocean's border, with the view of the never-ending movements of the sea, the high tide and low tide, the sea-drift washed up on the beach, the boats in the horizon, and all other marine sensations, hinder the freezing of time. Visceral, lived

9 Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by the Authors.

e-ISSN 2785-2709

experience, says Hay, cultivates 'island meanings' (cited in Boon et al. 2018, 6). The dynamism and fixity of the coastline, producing multiple temporalities of the movement of sand and rocks, gives people at the edge of the island a temporal orientation premised on a stoic and decelerated form of wayfaring on a horizon of expectation containing a 'perhaps' or 'maybe'. This Faroese 'maybe' refers, above all, to spatiotemporal positions: maybe today, maybe tomorrow, maybe next week, etc. (Norgate 1943; Ecott 2020). Illustrating the shift in *at leita eftir reka* from being a livelihood activity to a more discretionary practice, one manner in which it has been preserved and celebrated in the modern era is in artworks by Faroese artists such as Tróndur Patursson (born in 1944 in Kirkjubøur) who has produced artworks using driftwood and whalebones.

4 Women and Waiting

Faroese men have practiced long-distance working (LDW) since the late ninteenth century, when industrial fishing emerged in the Faroe Islands. Prior to this, fishing was small-scale and took place in the sea surrounding the islands, guided by the lunar cycle and the weather. However, upon the onset of industrial fishing, smacks would journey much farther afield. They sailed to fishing grounds near Iceland and Greenland in February only to return in the late autumn. Most men of working age were employed in fishing and absent for lengthy periods, leaving the tending of everyday life on the islands to women. Women's paid employment was largely centred around fish processing, drying fish on stone-paved grounds along the shoreline where the sea meets the island. Fish work was generally incompatible with family life, at least whilst children were young. Coupled with the gendered assumption that employment was the confine of pre-marriage life, only some married women sustained paid work. Still, men's absence placed a substantial physical and mental strain on women who worked like "horses", carrying out carework, housework, maintenance, and cultivation (Joensen 1985, 76).

Thus temporalities of the Faroese revolved around fishing and the fishing season. Whilst men were seafarers, married women were shore bound. Time in this sense related to the seasonal oceanic rhythm. Yet, the rhythm of the sea is unpredictable and could with little warning transform into a harsh unkind environment. Fishing in the North Atlantic seas was, and to some degree still is, treacherous, and many lives were lost at sea. In the extract below, Grand and Olsen (2021) observe the profound backdrop from which Faroese aquapelagic relations must be understood

> On one hand, the sea is enticing, stunning and vast; on the other, fierce and characterised by the profound, unpredictable forces of nature. The duality of the sea means it both gives and takes. It is both a rich local resource and a place of loss. In every Faroese family there is a fisherman, and everyone has had the tragic experience of losing relatives at sea.

From the extract, we catch sight of the ambivalence of the sea and how it frames collective consciousness in the Faroe Islands. It concerns simultaneously death and survival. According to Joensen (1982) the well-known cry "skip á fjørðinum!" ('a ship on the fjord') would cause everyone to drop what they were doing to see which ship was returning. It was especially women with husbands, fiancés or sons who waited longingly for their loved ones to return. Loosing loved ones was emotionally devastating, however, it could also literally throw families into poverty. Thus women's waiting was simultaneously emotionally charged and a reminder of their dependency on men. Understood this way, women's waiting in the Faroe Islands constitutes a primary way in which gendered power relations are manifested (Castellanos 2023).

In his memoirs Pastor Børge Kielberg recounts his observations of life in the village of Viðareiði in the early 1930s

> Many go down to the landing place these days, and there they stand, staring out to the sea. They stand silently for a long time as the wind tears at their clothes, and one hears nothing but the howling of the wind and the roar of the surf. But suddenly, a cry comes from one of them. Soon the others can see it too. Now the men and sons have come ashore, and there is joy. Many people are down at the pier – mothers with their children – and soon they return in cheerful little groups. On the way home, they are repeatedly asked by many women whether they have seen any of the other ships. Some they have seen or heard about, but sometimes they are asked about ships that no one has seen or heard anything from in a long time. And then there is fear and weeping in many homes. The wait between ships returning becomes longer and still there are some left at sea. Anxiety is starting to creep in. [The text goes on to narrate the experience of one woman who is waiting.] The nights become so long, and the darkness feels so close. She has a husband, three sons and five brothers on the same ship. They have not returned, and it is no wonder that the worry can at times be so overwhelming that it is more than the heart can bear. [Eventually this ship returned]. But it does not always go well. Sometimes September passes and gradually the whole of October has crept by. A heavy atmosphere settles over the village and people start to speak slower. As time goes by, the certainty grows that some skips will not return. (Joensen 1982, 348-9)

The passage highlights the intensive looking out to sea. As women engage with the moving sea and the horizon, hoping to see a ship, waiting involves actively attempting to bring the future to the present. As the season draws to a close, the intensity of the wait is evident and even the tempo of speech in the village changes. For the women, waiting is inextricably linked to emotions of hope and fear, and extended waiting becomes painfully embodied – unbearable and overwhelming.

We have argued so far that temporality in the Faroe Islands is framed according to the rhythm of the sea, however, gendered aquapelagic waiting is both relational and multifaceted. Notwithstanding that waiting is ubiquitous to human life, the assumption is generally that waiting time is a monolithic form of time (Foster 2019). For Faroese women, waiting encompasses also process time. Process time, according to Doucet, refers to care-related tasks which cannot neatly be framed into clock-time segments. They "can be narrated, but they cannot be measured in fixed units of clock time" (2023 451). The concept of time in this sense is multilayered and embedded in care relations. Whilst caring for those at home, waiting also involves the emotional work of worrying and sometimes ultimately grief. In this sense, waiting entails emotional endurance – attending simultaneously to everyday care and the embodied experience of waiting. In other words, waiting is caring and the two cannot, according to Heidegger, be separated (Miller 2022).

Faroese men today continue to practice LDW; however, those that do constitute a much lower proportion of the male population (Hayfield, Olavson, Patterson 2016). Moreover, their work is characterised by digital connectivity, reduced safety risks, and shorter periods of absence, with typical shifts ranging from 4 to 12 weeks. The Faroese welfare system promotes women's labour market participation and is characterised by so-called woman-friendly policies, which include generous state-funded parental leave, childcare and eldercare (Borchorst, Siim 2008). Notwithstanding the emergence of a predicable rhythm in men's absence and presence, Faroese women with LDW husbands/ partners still today speak of two different realities – one when their husbands/partners are home, and one when they are away. Thus, temporalities continue to be constituted by island work practices. Gendered waiting in the aquapelagy remains constituted in the Faroese self-understanding and island labour market discourses, which pertain to a logic of island rhythms (Hayfield 2020). In this sense this island waiting "style" is carried over from the past to the present (Pickard 2020). Consequently, despite significant societal changes in Faroese gender roles, island time is manifested in aquapelagic gender relations.

5 Slow Communication

The simultaneous slowness-and-calmness, resilience-and-stubbornness and overarching 'maybeness' shared by Faroese villagers, and evident in practices such as *at leita eftir reka* and women's waiting can be understood as temporal-ecological adaptations to the island-water spaces of the North Atlantic. The social manifestation of these has been illustrated in an array of exoticizing and often amusing texts about the North Atlantic aquapelago. For instance, Jonathan Wylie, an American anthropologist, had to spend a lot of time drinking tea and chatting with villagers during his fieldwork on the islands in the 2000s and later commented that

> The pace of conversation is excruciatingly slow by American standards, particularly among older men. Each utterance is followed by a measured pause, and the breaks between topics are punctuated by exchanges of '*Ja*, *ja*', 'I reckon so' and the like – perhaps as many as four of five of these, delivered with great deliberation about fifteen seconds apart, at a volume midway between an undertone and a normal speaking voice, like a metronome overheard ticking slowly in the background. This leisurely – and not to say lugubrious – rhythm got on my nerves at first, but it proved virtually impossible to hurry things along, especially with people I did not know well. If I, or an importunate child, broke the rhythm of *ja-ja*'s and I-reckon-so's, the interruption would simply be ignored. (Wylie 2011, 67)

This observation, which illustrates the disparity of different temporalities and styles of informal communication, identifies the visiting fieldworker's problem with the long pauses and phatic words and phrases in conversation with the villagers. He waits for the men to tell something exciting and interesting, something to add to his fieldnotes, but, obviously, they do not feel any need to rush with information. The villagers, who know almost everything about each other, might also find it difficult to include the visitor in on local gossip and storytelling, because he does not have any bonds to the place.

The unrushed and clock-time omitting style of conversation, where villagers talk about events from past centuries as if they had happened yesterday, and about tomorrow's programme as if it was a century ahead, reflects a "fluid, but deep" temporal orientation (Gaffin 1996, 226) among the villagers of the islands. The lightness and gently teasing tone of the chat among them is also a way of reaffirming the social order of the community. What might look like a decelerated and laid-back village life from the perspective of the observer from the city, is island life with the unpredictable ocean as

closest neighbour. Things can change abruptly, and without notice. The temporality of the islanders is therefore also a time of waiting. It is a question of the micropolitics of pace: waiting for the right moment at the right place (Eisenstein 2021, 460-1).

In a short satirical ballad called '*Ongin letingi*' (No slacker), which was translated into Faroese by the writer A.C. Evensen (1874-1917), and that children used to read at school for most of the twentieth century, readers receive this guide for the week:

> Monday I have nothing to do
> Tuesday I have plenty of time
> Wednesday has to be my free day
> Thursday I mull over things
> Friday I do whatever I like
> Saturday the day of rest (Sabbath) is imminent
> And then the week is over. (Føroya Læraraskúli 1984)

The verse gently satirises people's narratives about the uneventful cycles of their weeks through the repetition of things in an unpretentious manner. Rather than talking about boredom, which is normally associated with a "surfeit of unwanted, static time" (Coleman 2018, 46) and the hope of a glorious life "waiting just around the corner" (Lefebvre 1960, 124), Faroese village temporality more accurately reflects a "slower, more human pace of life" (Nelson 2008, 236) without the sense of being humdrum. This is reminiscent of characterisations of the outer islands of the Okinawan archipelago where, Tanji and Broudy contend, time is "an open ocean where movements in the tides and currents of society sometimes carry people a bit off course and delay meetings" (2017, 218). The ocean is both a metaphor and a part of everyday life. The same is the case for the Faroes. You could also say that Evensen's ballad, probably unintentionally, mocks the temporal systems and distinctions that we (i.e., humans) base our conventional predictions on, and which give us the experience of, the 'passage of time' – especially when we somehow fail in our preparations and predictions. Existence in this island community in the North Atlantic, says Gaffin, "is a unique blend of the finely detailed with the indefinite" (1996, 225).

e-ISSN 2785-2709

6 Off the Clock on Fugloy

Fugloy is located in the most north easterly corner of the Faroe Islands **[fig. 1]**, in a region that is as remote from the territory's capital as you can get, and in an area that was once reputed to be home to mysterious phenomena. One of the legends concerning Fugloy relates that it was once a floating inhabited by trolls and that efforts by the archipelago's inhabitants to fix it in one spot failed until a group of Christian priests set off to catch the island. Rowing fast, they caught up with it and threw a Bible onto its shore. The island then stilled and was tethered to the ocean floor. The trolls were quickly conquered, and human occupation of the island began. In terms of the discussions advanced in § 3, we might conceive of the island in this tale as a massive and highly inviting piece of *reki* that was physically bricolaged into the archipelago. We can conceive the myth as a manifestation of the Faroes' "aquapelagic imaginary" (Hayward 2018), echoing broader narratives about movements and terrestrial/marine reconstellations within the space, as well as the relationship between human and non-human in changeable environments (Kothari, Arnall 2019, 313).

Fugloy's population, spread between the main village of Kirkja and the smaller hamlet of Hattarvik, peaked at around 250-300 in the early twentieth century before declining to around 15 all-year round inhabitants by the early twenty-first. While electricity arrived in the 1960s and while the island has amenities such as a helicopter landing pad, it retains a traditional subsistence lifestyle based on livestock farming, fishing and harvesting puffins. A 2020 Faroese television documentary about life on the island entitled *Einki eitur klokka*[10] (which can be translated as 'There is not such a thing as the clock')[11] provides a series of useful insights into life on the island. While the title is rhetorical rather than accurate (in that there are clocks in the islanders' homes), one of the islanders, an elderly woman living alone without feeling lonely, says: "we are free from the clock out here". The remark is revealing. She mulls over time and says: "I have done my part in following the clock, when I was working… now I don't adjust to the clock… I go out and I don't even bring it with

10 KVF (2020). *Einki eitur klokka* (podcast documentary by Joensen-Næs, D.; Stenberg, J.) Tórshavn: National Public Broadcast Company of the Faroe Islands. https://www.listennotes.com/podcasts/dokumentarar/einki-eitur-klokka-JujX2kPz3rG/?srsltid=AfmBOoo_BTEDEwufiBC9EGiIZqIkLfGVM_60F-6FPvv2Mcm8pgLG_lts.

11 The Faroese title – taken from a participant's comment – literally declares "there is nothing *called* clock" (emphases added) but the comment in the program refers to non-adherence to clocks rather than issues of local nomenclature, hence our choice of translation.

e-ISSN 2785-2709

me". She looks out over the familiar sea and confirms: "here, there is no clock". The only exception, she adds, are the schedules of ferry boat or helicopter arrivals and departures, which are only interesting for travellers or for those awaiting or farewelling them. She gets up when it is bright and goes back to the house to rest when it is dark. By ignoring chronometric time, the weather and seasonal change decides what work she should do and when. It is also significant that she acknowledges once having lived within chronometric terms of reference, when she was "working". While unspecified, this work is implicitly not the type of subsistence activity conducted on Fugloy but, rather, more modern employment, probably on a larger island.

The classic oxymoron *festina lente* (make haste slowly or more haste, less speed) comes to mind in Fugloy and underlies many local sayings. "Strange, but I never feel lonely", says another islander. "Long time gone", she adds, "since I stopped adapting to other people". This woman, sitting in her cosy old-fashioned kitchen, watching the inlet and the shingle beach through the window, checks if anything has changed in the landscape since she last looked at the sea. There's a significant detail in the scene. While she talks, the national radio is on in the background. While clocks may have a minimal presence, the chronometrically determined rhythm of daily program slots often plays out in the interiors of Fugloy homes and assumes an increased prominence during the long dark days of winter when inhabitants are often inside for extended durations. In Fugloy, and other small and remote islands, the radio has long been the main connection to the chronometrically-organised external world. Traditionally, radios held pride of place in homes, being placed in the finest corner of the living rooms of the old houses. While the amount of broadcast air time was limited, the news, conveying both maritime weather forecasts and international political updates, echoed a temporality that was far from the daily rhythm of life in the island villages. Later, with the introduction of a full schedule of Faroese national radio, death notices became a symbol of the relation betwen the temporality of the individual and the temporality of the local society (Leonard 2020, 223). In this acceptance of one facet of chronometric time, the salient point is the choice to adopt this while ecshewing a more general chronmetric detreminism.

The islanders also reflect on the huge difference between life in Fugloy and in the capital city of Tórshavn in the documentary. In Tórshavn, one of the women argues, there is "too much rush". People do not have time for anything, she laments, and the children have nothing to do except play sports. There is nothing else for them there, she asserts. The interviewees also observe that they feel allowed 'to be who they are' on Fugloy and thus be free in a different way than they would be in larger and more complex places. What is apparent in the perspectives from Fugloy is that the boundary of the island does

e-ISSN 2785-2709

not give the islanders a sense of being *un*free and, in that regard, it suggests the benefits of what Vanini (2011) has characterised as islander 'insulation'.

The insulation isolation/ is felt through the water's edge, or, from the reverse side, through the island's edge, making the boat (and later the airplane) vital for connection to other islands and to the rest of the world but, as Hay (2013) emphasises, this not a rigid confinement that cuts islanders' links to the surrounding ocean and beyond. A different type of temporality, temporal estrangement and experience of alternative cultures is, for instance, manifest in the life story of one of the neighbours of the clock-less Fugloy islander, an elderly man who spent virtually his entire adult life travelling the Seven Seas as a mariner. He went to sea at the age of sixteen and some of the trips during early adulthood lasted one-and-a-half years. His voyages took him to various ports around the globe before he returned to pursue a peaceful life in the place that he calls home. His return to the island and his affection for the ocean suggest that both function as his place of origin (DeLoughrey 2018, 187). Despite his retirement from the rigid schedules of shipboard life, he characterises that there is always plenty to do on the island, if you want.

7 The Airport and the New Temporality

For almost all of the Faroes' history, harbours have been the arrival and departure points for incoming and outgoing travellers. The reliance on ships and ship routes has reinforced the aquapelagic nature of the island experience and the vagueries of sea travel times have contributed to Faroese senses of temporality and the general unpredictability of things. The Faroes first commercial airport opened in 1963 and has been extended and upgraded in various stages over the last sixty years (most notably in 2014). Its operation has obviated the need for time-consuming oceanic wayfaring and arriving and departing onshore – once important aspects of lived experience and movement for islanders – and has, thereby, significantly decentered the aquapelagic aspect from contemporary travel. The airport (like any other) is a hub for travellers leapfrogging through regions and cities, and has introduced new spatiotemporal configurations and schedules into the Faroes. The connections facilitated by modern aviation operate within "the universe of disciplined time" (Thompson 1967, 64) and has thereby led to moments of uneasy juxtaposition. When the electronic information screen at the airport started to signal flight arrival and departure 'delays' of a few minutes some ten years back, you could see the smile on many Faroese travellers' faces, an amazed look suggesting the silent question: is this a joke? The minute-craze of ultramodern 'non-places' (Augé 2008),

of which busy international airports are quintessential examples, seems incongruous at this modest airfield in the North Atlantic that inclement weather routinely cloaks, rendering 'delays' more predictable than on-time arrivals. Indeed, the airport emphasises that the seamless, foreseeable and standardized travel experience tailored for the frequent traveller is alien to people used to waiting without the slightest feeling of delay. Waiting for the right moment with the right weather at the right place used to be the social norm, reinforcing islanders' patience (Gaini 2018). Such waiting, which was not passive and empty, was not seen as 'waste' of time, because it was not measured against chronometric exactitude. It was, instead, a collective manifestation of what Appadurai calls the "politics of patience" (cited in Janeja, Bandak 2018, 8).

Vágar airport's terminal is a complex space within the Faroes. Located on Vágar island, otherwise a quiet location known for its lakes and historic villages, the terminal represents the point of transition from traditional Faroese spatio-temporality to the smooth and secular temporality and design of global 'non-places'. (Gaini 2013). The terminal's bland international design disconnects locals and tourists from the island environment and the heritage which it has been superimposed on. In the case of the Faroes, one of those heritage elements is the local temporality discussed in this article. Examining interactions at the airport from the perspective of incoming passenger returning home proves instructive. Upon arrival, most local returnees are greeted by a 'welcome home' message (in Faroese) from airline staff over the terminal's loudspeakers. While this no doubt goes over the heads of foreign visitors – for whom it would seem quaint, if they could understand the language – it represents a softening in the formulaic rendition of international travel experiences. This is also notable in the meetings between relatives, friends, tourists, airport staff, taxi drivers and others. The sense of being back home, back in place in the Faroes, manifests as a lack of hurriedness, crowdedness and divisiveness, demonstrating the informal and easy-going rhythm of social life marked by a 'living for the moment' attitude (Pedersen 2012, 2-10).[12] This might not be very different from the realities of arriving in airports in many other small and sparsely populated communities but, in the Faroes, the culturally endorsed practice of waiting and resisting haste has been key to forming its aquapelagic orientation and temporal character.

12 Given its restricted length, we have not explored issues concerning the dissonance of and/or adjustment to aspects of Faroese time required for islanders returning to the archipelago after periods living away. This is a topic that is not often broached in popular media discourse and merits detailed study in its own right.

e-ISSN 2785-2709

8 Embodying Traditional Temporality in Performance

The time of the waves, the temporalism of the North Atlantic aquapelago experienced by fishers at sea and *rekamaðurs* at the waterfront, by the inhabitants of small villages 'of waiting' and of imagined floating islands, is culturally reproduced and typified in the *Føroyskur dansur* (Faroese chain dance). This dates back to the medieval period and is normally performed in a circle with no musical accompaniment other than the participants' own chanting. It involves sustained repetition – two small steps forward (to the left) and one step back, again and again – in a slow and sedate manner combined with an enlivening and boosting chorus. The softly moving human chain, singing one stanza after the other in a monotonous but spellbinding manner, is hard to break or distract, because it is so tenacious and unified. Hundreds of arms and legs move in harmony, for many hours, but at a snail's pace and without the sign of any spontaneity or frenzy. The dance is commonly understood to symbolise the resilience of traditional Faroese temporality and the repetitive and circular shades of continuity typify the wavering nature of Faroese time. Its survival/revival in the contemporary era signals the enduring appeal of traditional cultural forms and sensibilities to the Faroese. Indeed, the dance has also been reaffirmed, represented and dramatically extended in the distinctly modern form of music videos.[13] Xperiment, a community choir based in Tórshavn, recorded a verson of Tróndur Olsen's well-known and affectionately regarded 1915 composition *Í Gøtu ein Dag* in 2015. The song, written and sung in the style of traditional *kvæði* narrative ballads, is a short satirical composition relating how a famous historic Viking chieftain wakes up from a centuries-long slumber and encounters modern society and its new technologies and trends. Disappointed and disillusioned, he decides to return to his deep sleep. The accompanying video dramatises Tróndur's awakening through short dramatic sequences intercut with images of the choir singing the song while performing a *Føroyskur dansur*, its rhythms acting like a comfortingly familiar lullaby to return the chief to his slumber.

Along with the video for Xperiment's *Í Gøtu ein Dag*, another audiovisual production presents a striking modern inscription of Faroese traditions of patience and waiting. Hamferð, a metal band who characterise themselves as representing the ongoing adversity of island life resulting from centuries of "storms, famine, disease and

13 While music video is often regarded as antithetical to traditional modes and styles of musical performance and cultural context, it has been deployed to different ends in what be typified as marginal music industries, such as those in island locations. In Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu for instance, music video has been used to represent traditional dances and cultural practices for several decades (see Hayward 1995).

death" (Green 2013,175), recorded a song entitled *Deyðir varðar* ('Dead cairns') in 2015 that described the darkness and coldness of night and the pain of losing a loved one in a harsh terrain. Kenneth Jørgensen's music video for the track featured the band miming in a continuous take over the peak of a total eclipse of the sun as experienced on the hills above Kvívík, on the western coast of Streymoy, on March 20th 2015. As a result, the central third of the six minute thirty seconds long video was shot in total darkness. The blacking out of an extended portion of the visual track of a music video is diametrically opposed to the form's aesthetic focus of grabbing and retaining viewer attention in a fast stimulation and gratification cycle and the video maker and band's confidence in presenting the 'eclipsed' sequence signals their familiarity with a local audience that can tolerate and appreciate such elements.[14]

9 Watching Heritage

Along with the transition zone of the airport, Tórshavn represents the islands' chronometric centre, in that the small city operates on a similar basis to other European centres of administration, commerce and tourism. Clock times, timetables and related comings and goings and openings and closings occur in predictable pre-notified patterns, obviating the need for extended waiting and the patience required.[15] Outer islanders often have a split attitude to the capital. While it offers all manner of useful retail outlets, services and leisure and entertainment options, it is often characterised as the 'most Danish' place in the Faroes, in contrast to Klaksvík, on Borðoy, for instance, which is arguably 'more Faroese' and where the more unpredictable rhythms of the fishing industry are more deterministic than administrative activities, retail or tourism.

The tensions between traditional and chronometric temporality – and differences between the capital and the outlying islands and islets – is manifest in the establishment, operation and promotion of Tórshavn's 'Faroe Time' watch company. Its website[16] offers a rich bouquet of ironies that highlights two separate temporal traditions. This begins with the emphasis on the slow, unhurried and skilled design and prototyping of the company's high-end watches

14 See Gaini, Hayward, Hill 2025 for a discussion of landscape and cultural heritage in Faroese music videos.

15 Indeed, on the very first day of the third named author's stay in the Faroes he witnessed two locals checking their watches and being irritated at the apparent delay in a bus arriving at a local bus stop running passengers down into the city centre – behaviour at marked odds to that discussed above on outer islands.

16 Faroe Time company website: `https://www.faroetime.com/ourstory/`.

in its 'Our Story' section, implicitly aligning this with traditional Faroese craft traditions. At the same time, the site identifies Niels Arge, the proprietor and designer, as part of what might be termed the 'chronometric establishment' of the capital by virtue of his family's tradition of watchmaking. Fittingly, in this regard, the 'Inspiration' page relates that the men's watch face designs promoted on the site were developed from Tórshavn cathederal's historic clock face, which dates back to 1865, and whose installation might be characterised as a pivotal moment in the chronometrication of the city. By contrast, the website identifies the design of women's watches as based on a knitted star craft design collected on the outer islands in the 1930s by Hans Marius Debes. There's a plurality here which suggests watch design and manufacture as a local heritage practice capable of echoing the city's architectural heritage at the same time (no pun intended) that its women's watches appropriate a rural women's craft motif in a new medium. The 'Home' page goes further, displaying the company's current range of pocket- and wrist-watches on a white background below a dramatic image of sea-stacks[17] viewed by a tiny, lone observer, cross-associating the undeveloped primeval landscape (which has no need for chronometry given its lack of human inhabitants) with the luxurious time pieces. Emphasising the connection to landscape, the final 'Contact' section of the website dispenses with representations of watches altogether and includes contact information below a striking photographic image of Mykines island, in the far west of the archipelago. The company's promotion takes another turn on its Instagram page,[18] which features shots of watches placed or digitally montaged against landscape features. While the exercise attempts to further relate the products with natural features, some shots – such as the juxtaposition of a watch on a wearer's wrist against a typically remote Faroese cliff-face – raisine the question of the necessity of chronometric precision in such a locale.

17 See Fleury, Gaini, Hayward 2025 for a discussion about the role that sea stacks play for Faroese communities.

18 Faroe Time Instagram account: `https://www.instagram.com/faroetime/` (2025/04/18).

e-ISSN 2785-2709

10 Reflection

At Vágar airport, as well as in other present-day Faroese contexts permeated by the chronometrically determined temporalities of the globalising world, some islanders might feel that they are being forced to compromise their 'own time' and be involuntarily synchronized to modern secular time. This imagined rupture resonates the different temporal regimes and dynamics that – as outlined in this article – people from small island communities negotiate in everyday life at the waterfront. The *ja-ja*'s and I-reckon-so's of North Atlantic villagers, we recall, pushed the visiting American fieldworker to the point of exasperation. What maybe looked like laziness and carelessness, or insulated Faroese time, to the outsider, is the time of the waves in 'the Land of Maybe'. Faroese temporality serves to remind us that there are older alternatives to chronometric time and that time *keeping* can be an assertive exercise even when its pace is slow, and when its event structures are repetitive. We can perceive resistance variously as anti-modernist, anti-imperialist or just as sheer obduracy, but the desire to syncretise or juggle varying temporalities as befits the moment represents a form of active multi-temporal choice. It is also one that recalls contemporary Faroese bilingualism (Faroese/Danish) and increasing ability to speak English in order to engage with and profit from multiple cultural grounds and media products without abandoning their cultural heritage

We can broaden out this perception to identify recognition of and access to alternative temporalities as valuable personal and social resources. These can be drawn on to combat the imposition of rigid chronometric regimes and related productivity targets of the types endemic to modern industrial organisations such as Amazon[19] (characterised as "algorithmic despotism" by Delfanti 2021). The latter can thereby be viewed as other than an inevitable and irresistible outcome of technologized modern capitalism that marks the 'end of history' of pre-industrial temporalities. The history of industrial relations under capitalism shows a continual battle between managerial perceptions of humans as production units that need to be standardised and constantly monitored in order to achieve peak productivity and the desire of workers and their representatives to *at least* gain recognition of various designated time slots for everything from toilet visits, lunch breaks, weekends and/or annual holidays. In this manner, traditional Faroese temporalities and their 'inbuilt' periods of waiting – however "excruciatingly mundane"

19 It is no accident in this regard that one of Amazon's products is the online 'Amazon Time Sync' system that provides access to the current time through satellite-connected atomic clocks, synchronising time to within a few milliseconds.

(Vanini, Taggart 2013, 227) – appear far more humane than modern alternatives and far more amenable to quiet and reflective periods that are increasing inaccessible within modern temporalities that are determined by chronometric time keeping. For this reason, if for no other, they are worth documenting, comprehending and learning from.

Bibliography

Abram, A. (2017). "Contemporary Obsessions with Time and the Promise of the Future". Salazar, J.F.; Pink, S.; Irving, A.; Sjoberg, J. (eds), *Anthropologies of the Future. Researching Emerging and Uncertain Worlds*. New York; London: Routledge, 61-82.

Augé, M. (2008). *Non-Places. Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. London: Verso.

Augé, M. (2014). *The Future*. London: Verso.

Banfield, E.J. (1908). *Confessions of a Beachcomber*. New York: Appleton and Company.

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.

Boon, S.; Butler, L.; Jefferies, D. (2018). *Autoethnography and Feminist Theory at the Water's Edge*. Cham: Palgrave Pivot.

Borchorst, A.; Siim, B. (2008). "Woman-Friendly Policies and State Feminism: Theorizing Scandinavian Gender Equality". *Feminist Theory*, 9(2), 207-24.

Bourdieu, P. (1979). *Algeria 1960 (Essays)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Castellanos, D.D.A. (2023). "Rethinking Waiting: A Critical Analysis of the Waiting as a Temporality and Its Limitations in Understanding These Processes as a Social Phenomena". *Dialektika: Revista de Investigación Filosófica y Teoría Social*, 5(14), 9-32.

Coleman, S. (2018). "Great Expectations? Between Boredom and Sincerity in Jewish Ritual 'Attendance'". Janeja, M.K.; Bandak, A. (eds), *Ethnographies of Waiting: Doubt, Hope and Uncertainty*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 41-64.

Delfanti, A. (2021). *The Warehouse: Workers and Robots at Amazon*. London: Pluto Books.

DeLoughrey, E. (2018). "The Sea is Rising: Visualising Climate Change in the Pacific Islands". *Pacific Dynamics – Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, 2(2), 185-97.

Dening, G. (1980). *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land – Marquesas 1774-1880*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Donzé, P.-Y. (2022). *Business of Time: A Global History of the Watch Industry*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Doucet, A. (2023). "'Time is Not Time is Not Time': A Feminist Ecological Approach to Clock Time, Process Time, and Care Responsibilities". *Time & Society*, 32(4), 434-60.

Eisenstein, A. (2021). "On Waiting Willfully in Urban Uganda". *Cultural Anthropology*, 36(3), 458-83.

Føroya Lærarаskúli (1984). *Skjaldur, kvæði og dansispøl*. Torshavn: Føroya Lærarаskúli (Teacher's College of the Faroe Islands).

Fleury, C.; Gaini, F.; Hayward, P. (2025). "A Rocky Paradox: International Law, Island Studies and the Socio-Cultural Significance of Pinnacles and Sea Stacks (with Reference to the Faroe Islands, Channel Islands and Balls Pyramid)". *Shima*, 19(2), 125-53.

Fortis, P.; Küchler, S. (eds) (2021). *Time and Its Object: A Perspective from Amerindian and Melanesian Societies on the Temporality of Images*. London: Routledge.

Foster, R. (2019). "'Doing the Wait': An Exploration into the Waiting Experiences of Prisoners' Families". *Time & Society*, 28(2), 459-77.

Gaffin, D. (1996). *In Place: Spatial and Social Order in a Faeroe Islands Community*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.

Gaini, F. (2011). "The Adversity of the Heroes of the Past". Gaini, F. (ed.), *Among the Islanders of the North: An Anthropology of the Faroe Islands*. Tórshavn: Faroe University Press, 163-93.

Gaini, F. (2013). *Lessons of Islands: Place and Identity in the Faroe Islands*. Tórshavn: Faroe University Press.

Gaini, F. (2018). "Altered Islands: Young Faroe Islanders' Future Landscapes". *Suomen Antropologi (Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society)*, 43(4), 3-18.

Gaini, F.; Hayward, P.; Hill, M. (2025). "Landscape and Cultural Heritage in Faroese Music Videos". Korsgaard, M.B.; Pääkkölä, A.-E.; Richardson, J. (eds), *Nordic Music Videos*. London: Routledge/Ashgate, 151-65.

Gillis, J.R. (2007). "Island Sojourns". *The Geographical Review*, 97(2), 274-87.

Grand, K.L.: Olsen, S.H. (2021). *Havið*. Listasavn Føroy.

Green, J. (2013). *Music-Making in the Faroes*. Vestmanna: Sprotin.

Hay, P. (2013). "What the Sea Portends: A Reconsideration of Contested Island Tropes". *Island Studies Journal*, 8(2), 209-32.

Hayfield, E. (2017). "Exploring Transantional Realities in the Lives of Faroese Youngsters". *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 7(1), 3-11.

Hayfield, E.A. (2020). "Parenting and Islands: Constructing Gender and Work in the Faroe Islands". Gaini, F.; Pristed Nielsen, H.(eds), *Gender and Island Communities*. London: Routledge, 100-18.

Hayfield, E.A.; Olavson, R.; Patursson, L. (2016). *Part-Time Work in the Nordic Region III: An Introductory Study of the Faroe Islands, Greenland and Åland Islands*. Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers.

Hayward, P. (1995). "A New Tradition: Titus Tilly and the Development of Music Video in Papua New Guinea". *Perfect Beat*, 2(2), 1-19.

Hayward, P. (2012). "Aquapelagos and Aquapelagic Assemblages". *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures*, 6(1), 1-11.

Hayward, P. (2018). "Mermaids, Mercultures and the Aquapelagic Imaginary". *Shima*, 12(2), 2-11.

Hayward, P.; Joseph, M. (2024). *Aquapelagos: Integrated Terrestrial and Marine Assemblages*. New Delhi: Routledge.

Heinesen, J.P. (1977). *Rekamaðurin*. Tórshavn: Gestur.

Janeja, M.K.; Bandak, A. (2018). "Introduction – Worth the Wait". Janeja, M.K.; Bandak, A. (eds), *Ethnographies of Waiting: Doubt, Hope and Uncertainty*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1-39.

Joensen, J.P. (1982). *Fiskafólk*. Tórshavn: Faroe University Press.

Joensen, J.P. (1985). *Folk og Fisk: En Studie over Produktion og Miljø i Klipfiskeberedningen på Færøerne*. Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag.

Lefebvre, H. (1960). *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes*. London: Verso.

Leonard, S.P. (2020). "Remembering the Dead: The (Re)Construction of Faroese Community on the Radio". *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 76(2), 209-31.

Miller, P.N. (2022). "Heidegger in Care". *Conserving Active Matter*. https://exhibitions.bgc.bard.edu/cam/files/2022/03/Peter-N.-Miller_Heidegger-on-Care.pdf.

Minervudóttir, G.E. (2003). "The Kingdom of God on the Bottom of the Ocean". Sigurðsson, H. (ed.), *Inside – Outside. Iceland, Greenland and the Faroes*. Akureyri: Listasafnið á Akureyri, 23-7.

Munn, N. (1992). "The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay". *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21, 93-123.

Nelson, C. (2008). *Dancing with the Dead. Memory, Performance, and Everyday Life in Postwar Okinawa*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Nielsen, M. (2011). "Futures Within: Reversible Time and House-Building in Maputo, Mozambique". *Anthropological Theory*, 11(4), 397-423.

Norgate, S. (1943). *'Kanska' or The Land of Maybe*. Tórshavn: H.N. Jacobsens Bókhandil.

Oroz, T. (2022). "Multiple Island Temporalities: 'Island Time' and the Spatialisation of Slowness on the Dalmatian Island of Dugi Otok". *Narodna umjetnost*, 59(2), 9-38.

Pedersen, M.A. (2012). "A Day in the Cadillac". *Social Analysis*, 56(2), 1-16.

Pels, P. (2015). "Modern Times: Seven Steps Towards an Anthropology of the Future". *Current Anthropology*, 56(6), 779-96.

Rickard, S. (2020). "Waiting Like a Girl? The Temporal Constitution of Femininity as a Factor in Gender Inequality". *The British Journal of Sociology*, 71(2), 314-27.

Suwa, J. (2012). "Shima and Aquapelagic Assemblages – A Commentary from Japan". *Shima: The International Journal into Island Cultures*, 6(1), 12-16.

Tanji, M.; Broudy, D. (2017). *Okinawa Under Occupation. McDonaldization and Resistance to Neoliberal Propaganda*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.

Thompson, E.P. (1967). "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism". *Past and Present*, 38, 56-97.

Urry, J. (2016). What is the *Future?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Vannini, P.; Taggart. J. (2013). "Doing Islandness: A Non-Representational Approach to an Island's Sense of Place". *Cultural Geographies*, 20(2), 225-42.

Wylie, J. (2011). "Eg Oyggjar Veit? Views, Overviews, and Oversisghts". Gaini, F. (ed.), *Among the Islanders of the North: An Anthropology of the Faroe Islands*. Tórshavn: Faroe University Press, 11-56.